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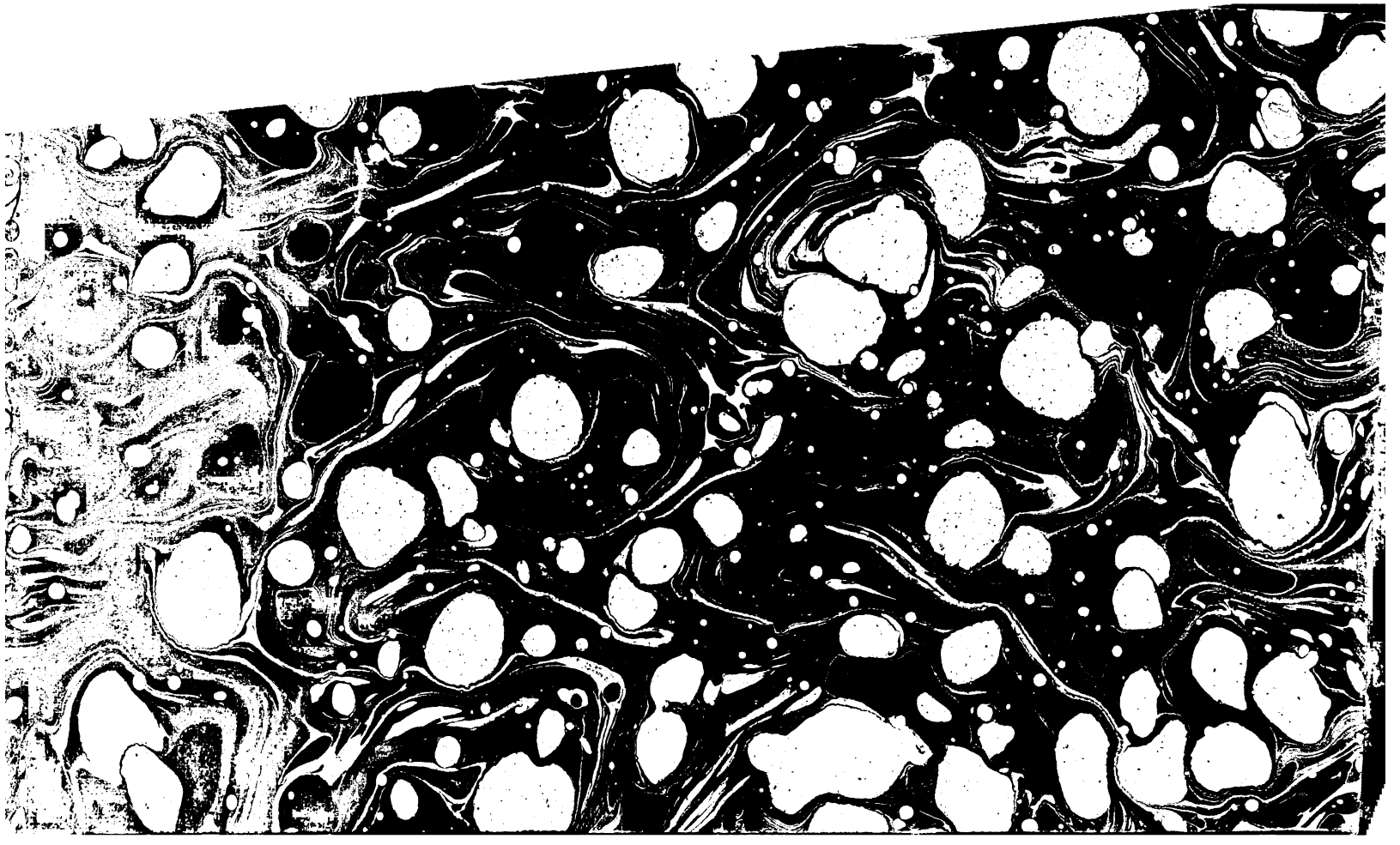

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THE WORKS

OF

ROBERT SANDERSON, D. D.

SOMETIME

BISHOP OF LINCOLN,

NOW FIRST COLLECTED BY

WILLIAM JACOBSON, D. D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

AND

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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The first three Sermons ad Populum were originally printed together, in 1627, six years after the last of them had been preached, with this Dedication prefixed.

To the Right Worshipful and my much honoured Lady, the Lady Mildred Sanderson, Wife to Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Knight and Baronet.

Good Madam,

It is not so much the kind respect which you have for many years past continually manifested towards me, (although that might justly challenge from me a far more ample acknowledgment,) that hath induced me to present you with these three Sermons, as your unfeigned love to God's Truth and Gospel, together with your religious care, by a holy and virtuous conversation, both to strengthen your own assurances for the hopes of the life to come, and to provoke those that are sprung from you, or live under you, by the strength of your example, to press so much the harder towards the same glorious mark, by the same gracious courses. To the increasing of which love and care, either in you or your's, or in any other into whose hands they may chance to come, if these poor Meditations shall add any furtherance, I shall have the less cause either to blame the importunity of those that have long urged, or to regard the

censures of those that shall now mislike, the publishing of them.

The God of power and of peace make them profitable to His Church, and preserve your spirit and soul and body blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Your Ladyship's,

To be commanded in the Lord,

ROBERT SANDERSON.

Boothby Pagnell, Linc.
9 April, 1627.

AD POPULUM.

SERMON I.

AT GRANTHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE, OCTOBER 3, 1620.*

I KINGS XXI. 29.

Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.

§. 1. The Coherence,

THE history of this whole chapter affordeth matter of much variety and use; but no passage in it so much either of wonder or comfort, as this in the close of the whole both story and chapter. That there should be mighty ones sick with longing after their meaner neighbours' vineyards; that there should be crafty heads to contrive for greedy great ones what they unjustly desire; that there should be officious instruments to do a piece of legal injustice upon a great man's letter; that there should be Knights of the Post† to depose any thing though

* Sermons i–iii. ad Populum were all delivered at Grantham, on the same day of the week, as it appears, viz. Tuesday, which was the Lecture-day at Northampton in 1638. See Prynne, Canterbury's Doom, 92. It may therefore be conjectured that they were preached on occasion of Sanderson's taking his turn at the Lecture given in that market town by 'a combination' of the neighbouring Clergy. It was to the Divines of the Lecture of Grantham that Bp. Williams, in 1627, submitted the paper by which he proposed to settle the difference which had arisen between the Vicar and the Parishioners, occasioned by the removal of the Communion Table from its previous position; in order that he might have the benefit of their judgment, if we follow Hacket, ii. 101, 2; for the purpose of having it dispersed and scattered over all the country, according to Heylyn, Life of Laud, 162.

The Instructions which Charles I. sent, Dec. 30, 1629, to Archbishop Abbot, with a direction that he should communicate them to his Suffragans, contained many regulations for such Lectures, which were, in substance, embodied in the Visitation Articles of Bp. Wren for the Diocese of Norwich, in 1636, and, still more stringently, by his successor, Montagu, in 1638. Prynne complains that, in consequence of the conditions imposed by the Bishops generally, 'most Combination Lectures were totally discontinued.' 380.

† 'Knights of the Post.' See Sermon iii. ad Magistr. §. 32.

never so false, in any cause though never so bad, against any man though never so innocent; that an honest man cannot be secure of his life, so long as he hath any thing else worth the losing;[a] there is instance in the fore-part of the Chapter of all this, in Ahab sickening, and Jezebel plotting, and the Elders obeying, and the witnesses accusing, and poor Naboth suffering. But what is there in all this singularly either strange or comfortable? All is but Oppression: active, in the rest, passive, in Naboth. And what wonder in either of these? *Stupet haec, qui jam post terga reliquit Sexaginta annos?*[b] Himself may pass for a wonder, if he be of any standing or experience in the world, that taketh either of these for a wonder. And as for matter of comfort, there is matter indeed, but of detestation in the one, of pity in the other: in neither of comfort.

Verse 4. Verse 8. Verse 11. Verse 13.

§. 2. Argument,

2. To pass by the other occurrents * also in the latter part of the Chapter, as, that a great oppressor should hug himself in the cleanly carriage and fortunate success of his damned plots and witty villanies; that a weak Prophet should have heart and face enough to proclaim judgment against an oppressing King in the prime of his jollity; that a bloody tyrant should tremble at the voice of a poor Prophet; and the rest, some of which we shall have occasion to take in incidentally in our passage along, mark we well but this close of the Chapter in the words of my Text, and it will be hard to say, whether it contain matter more strange, or more comfortable.

Comfortable, in that God's Mercy is so exceedingly magnified, and such strong assurance given to the truly penitent of finding gracious acceptance at the hands of their God, when they find Him so apprehensive of but an outward, enforced semblance of contrition from the hands of an hypocrite. Strange, in that God's Mercy is here magnified, even to the hazard of other His Divine Perfections, His Holiness, His Truth, His Justice. For each of these is made in some sort questionable, that so His Mercy might stand clear and unquestioned. A rotten-hearted hypocrite humbleth himself outwardly, but repenteth not truly; and God accepteth him, and

[a] Sic reus ille fere est, de quo victoria lucro Esse potest ... Ovid. de Nuce. [41.]

[b] Juvenal, Sat. xiii. [16.]

* 'occurrents.' See Sermon viii. ad Aulam, §. 13.

rewardeth him. Here is God's Mercy, in giving respect to one that ill deserved it; but, where is His Holiness the while, being a God of pure eyes, that requireth *truth in the inward parts*, and *will not behold iniquity*, thus to grace sin and countenance hypocrisy? A fearful judgment is denounced against Ahab's house for his oppression; but upon his humiliation, the sentence, at least part of it, is reversed. Here is Mercy still, in revoking a sentence of destruction; and if somewhat may be said for His Holiness too, because it was but a temporal and temporary favour, yet where is His Truth the while, being a God that cannot lie, and *with whom is no variableness, neither* so much as the bare *shadow of turning*, thus to say and unsay, and to alter the thing that is gone out of His lips? A judgment is deserved by the father: upon his humiliation, the execution is suspended during his life, and lighteth upon the son. Here is yet more Mercy, in not striking the guilty; and if somewhat may be said for God's Truth too, because what was threatened, though not presently, is yet at last performed, yet where is His Justice the while, being a God that without respect of persons rendereth to every man according to his own works, and will *not acquit the guilty*, neither condemn the innocent; thus to sever the guilt and the punishment, and to lay the judgment which he spareth from the father upon the son, from the more wicked father upon the less wicked son?

Hab. i. 13. Ps. li. 6. Tit. i. 2. S. James i. 17. 2 Kings x. 10. 1 S. Pet. i. 17. Exod. xxxiv. 7.

3. Thus God, to magnify the riches of His Mercy, is content to put His Holiness, and His Truth, and His Justice to a kind of venture. That so His afflicted ones might know, on what object especially to fasten the eyes of their souls: not on His Holiness, not on His Truth, not on His Justice: not only, nor chiefly on these, but on His Mercy. He seeketh more general glory in, and would have us take more special knowledge of, and affordeth us more singular comfort from His Mercy, than any of the rest, as if He desired we should esteem Him unholy, or untrue, or unjust, or any thing, rather than unmerciful. Yet is He neither unholy, nor untrue, nor unjust, in any of His proceedings with the sons of men, but *righteous in all His ways, and holy in all His works*, and true in all His words. And in this particular of His proceedings with King Ahab at this time, I hope, by His blessed assistance, so to acquit His Holiness, and Truth, and Justice from all sinister imputations,

§. 3. and Division of the Text. Ps. cxlv. 17.

as that He may be not only magnified in His Mercy, but justi-
Ps. li. 4. fied also in the rest, and clear when He is judged: as we shall be thereunto occasioned now and hereafter in the handling of this Scripture. Wherein are three main things considerable. First, the ground, or rather the occasion of God's dealing so favourably with Ahab, namely, Ahab's humiliation: *Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not &c.* Secondly, the great favour showed to Ahab thereupon; namely, the suspension of a judgment denounced: *I will not bring the evil in his days.* Thirdly, the limitation of that favour; it is but a suspension for a time, no utter removal of the judgment: *But in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.* Wherein we shall be occasioned to inquire how the first of these may stand with God's Holiness, the second with His Truth, the third with His Justice. And first of Ahab's humiliation: *Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me?*

§. 4. Ahab's person considered;

4. This Ahab was King of Israel, that is, King over those ten Tribes which revolted from Rehoboam the son of Solomon, and clave to Jeroboam the son of Nebat.* Search the whole sacred story in the Books of Kings and Chronicles; and, unless we will be so very charitable as notwithstanding many strong
See 2 Kings x. 31. presumptions of his hypocrisy, to exempt Jehu the son of Nimshi, and that is but one of twenty, we shall not find in the whole List and Catalogue of the Kings of Israel, one good one, that clave unto the Lord with an upright heart. Twenty Kings of Israel, and not one, or but one, good; and yet than this Ahab, of the twenty, scarce one worse. It is said in the six-
1 Kings xvi. 30. teenth Chapter of this Book, that *Ahab the son of Omri did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him,*
Ibid. 33. and that *he did more to provoke the Lord God of Israel to anger than all the Kings of Israel that were before him;* and
1 Kings xxi. 25. at the twenty-fifth verse of this Chapter, that *there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord.* An oppressor he was, and a murderer, and an idolater, and a persecuter of that holy Truth which God had plentifully revealed by His Prophets, and powerfully confirmed by Miracles, and mercifully declared by many gra-

* See the striking contrast between the history of the Dynasties of Judah and Israel, drawn by Davison, in the second part of his fifth Discourse on Prophecy.

cious deliverances, even to him, in such manner as that he could not but know it to be the Truth; and therefore an hypocrite, and, in all likelihood, an obstinate sinner against the Holy Ghost, and a cast-away.

§. 5. and his carriage; with the Observations thence.

5. This is Ahab: this the man. But what is his carriage? what doth he? he humbleth himself before the Lord. *Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me?* The manner and occasion of his humbling is set down a little before, at verse 27: *And it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words,* the words of Elijah the Prophet, dealing plainly and roundly with him for his hateful Oppression and Murder, *that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.* And that is the humbling here spoken and allowed of; and for which God here promiseth that He will not bring the evil in his days. Lay all this together, the man, and his ill conditions, and his present carriage, with the occasion and success of it; and it offereth three notable things to our consideration. See, first, how far an hypocrite, a cast-away may go in the outward performance of holy duties, and particularly in the practice of repentance: here is Ahab humbled: such a man, and yet so penitent. See again, secondly, how deep God's Word, though in the mouth but of weak instruments, when He is pleased to give strength unto it, pierceth into the consciences of obstinate sinners, and bringeth the proudest of them upon their knees, in despite of their hearts: here is Ahab quelled by Elijah: such a great one, by such a weak one. See yet again, thirdly, how prone God is to Mercy, and how ready to apprehend any advantage, as it were, and occasion to show compassion: here is Ahab humbled, and his judgment adjourned: such a real substantial favour, and yet upon such an empty shadow of repentance. Of these three at this time in their order; and of the first, first.

Ver. 20–24.

Verse 27.

§. 6. Observation I. How far an Hypocrite may go in the performance of holy duties.

6. An Hypocrite may go very far in the outward performances of holy duties. For the right conceiving of which assertion, note, first, that I speak not now of the common graces of illumination, and edification, and good dexterity for the practising of some particular calling, which gifts, with sundry other like, are oftentimes found even in such apparently wicked and profane men as have not so much as *the form,* much less *the power, of godliness.* But I speak even of those graces, which *de tota specie,* if they be true and sincere, are the un-

2 Tim. iii. 5.

doubted blessed fruits of God's holy renewing Spirit of sanctification: such as are repentance, faith, hope, joy, humility, patience, temperance, meekness, zeal, reformation, &c. In such as these Hypocrites may go very far, as to the outward semblance and performance. Note, secondly, that I speak not of the inward power and reality of these graces; for castaways and hypocrites, not having union with God by a lively faith in His Son, nor communion with Him by the effectual working of His Spirit, have no part nor fellowship in these things, which are proper to the chosen and called of God, and
Tit. ii. 14. peculiar to those that are His *peculiar people;* but I speak only of the outward performances, and exercises of such actions, as may seem to flow from such spiritual graces habitually rooted in the heart, when as yet they may spring also, and, when they are found in unregenerate men, do so spring from nature, perhaps moralized, or otherwise restrained, but yet unrenewed by saving and sanctifying grace. Note, thirdly, that, when I say an hypocrite may go very far in such outward performances, by the hypocrite is meant not only the gross or formal hypocrite, but every natural and unregenerate man, including also the elect of God before their effectual calling and conversion, as also reprobates and cast-aways for the whole time of their lives:* all of which may have such fair semblances of the forenamed graces and of other like them, as not only others, who are to judge the best by the Law of Charity, but themselves also, through the wretched deceitfulness of their own wicked and corrupt hearts, may mistake for those very graces they resemble.

§. 7. with the Application, S. Matthew xiii. 5. S. Luke viii. 6.

7. The Parable of the seed sown in the stony ground may serve for a full both declaration and proof hereof: which seed is said to have sprouted forth immediately, springing up forthwith after it was sown, but yet never came to good, but speedily withered away, because, for want of deepness of earth, it had not moisture enough to feed it to any perfection of growth and ripeness. And that branch of the Parable our blessed

* In reading this and some similar passages, it will be desirable to bear in mind that this Sermon was preached several years before the great change in Sanderson's theological views, in 1625, when, after reducing 'the Quinquarticular Controversy into five Schemes or Tables, he discerned a necessity of quitting the Sublapsarian way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the Supralapsarian, which he could never fancy.' See below, §. 26, the note on 'Pelagianism.'

Saviour Himself in His exposition applieth to such hearers, as, *when they hear the Word, immediately receive it with gladness;* and who so forward as they to repent, and believe, and reform their lives? But yet all that forwardness cometh to nothing: they endure but for a short time, *because they have no root in themselves,* but want the sap and moisture of grace to give life and lasting to those beginnings and imperfect offers and essays of goodness they made show of. Here are good affections, to see to, unto the good Word of God, *they receive it with joy:* it worketh not only upon their judgments, but it seemeth also to rejoice, yea after a sort to ravish their hearts, so as they feel a kind of tickling pleasure and delight in it, which the Apostle calleth tasting of *the heavenly gift, and the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come.* And as they receive the seed joyfully, so it appeareth quickly: it springeth up anon in the likeness of repentance, and faith, and obedience, and newness of life. They may be touched with a deep feeling of their sins, and with heavy hearts and many tears confess and bewail them, and not only promise, but also purpose amendment. They may be superficially affected with, and find some overly* comfort and refreshing from, the contemplation of those gracious promises of mercy and reconciliation and salvation which are contained in the glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and have some degrees of persuasion that those promises are true, and some flashes of confidence withal of their own personal interest therein. They may reform themselves in the general course of their lives in sundry particulars, refraining from some gross disorders, and avoiding the occasions of them, wherein they have formerly lived and delighted, and practising many outward duties of piety and charity, conformable to the letter of the Laws of both Tables, and misliking and opposing against the common errors or corruptions of the times and places wherein they live; and all this, to their own and others' thinking, with as great zeal unto godliness, and as thorough indignation against sin, as any others. All this they may do, and yet all the while be rotten at the heart, wholly carnal and unrenewed, quite empty of sound faith and repentance and obedience and every good grace, full of damnable pride

S. Matthew xiii. 20. S. Mark iv. 16.

S. Matthew xiii. 21. and S. Mark iv. 17.

Heb. vi. 4, 5.

* 'overly.' Compare Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 31.

and hypocrisy, and in the present state of damnation, and, in the purpose of God, reprobates and cast-aways.

§. 8. and Proof thereof.

8. Examples hereof we have, in Saul's care for the destroying of Witches, in Jehu's zeal in killing Baal's Priests, in Herod's hearing of John Baptist gladly, and doing many things thereafter, and, to omit others, in this wicked King Ahab's present fit of repentance and humiliation. At all which, and sundry other like effects, we shall the less need to marvel, if we shall seriously consider the causes and reasons thereof. [I will name but a few of many, and but name them neither. First, great is the force of natural Conscience, even in the most wicked men, especially when it is awakened by the hand of God in any heavy affliction, or by the voice of God threatening it with vengeance. It pursueth the guilty soul with continual and restless clamours; and he seeth that something he must needs do, if he knew what, to stop the mouth of Conscience; and so he falleth a repenting, and reforming, and resolving of a new course, which, though it be not sincere and so cannot work a perfect cure upon a wounded Conscience, but that still it rankleth inward, yet it giveth some present ease, and allayeth the anguish of it for the time. Secondly, God will have the power of His own ordinance sometimes manifested even upon those that hate it, as He got Himself *honour upon Pharaoh* and the Aegyptians, that His own faithful ones may see and admire the power of that holy seed whereby they are begotten again from the dead, not doubting but that the Gospel will prove *the power of God unto salvation to all that believe,* when they behold in it the power of conviction upon many that believe not. Thirdly, God, in His most wise and unsearchable Providence, so ordereth and disposeth not only outward things, but even the hearts and wills and thoughts and actions of men, permitting His children to fall backwards into sins, and bringing on His enemies towards goodness, so far as He thinketh good, as for other purposes, so for this end also among the rest, that man might not be able from those things he seeth happen unto other men, or done by them, to judge infallibly of the state of his brother's soul. God reserving this Royalty unto Himself, to be the only searcher of the hearts and reins of others. For these and sundry other reasons it cometh to pass, that hypocrites and cast-aways do oftentimes go so far as they do, in the outward performances of holy duties.]

1 Samuel xxviii. 9. 2 Kings x. 16, 28. S. Mark vi. 20.

Exod. xiv. 4.

Rom. i. 16.

See Eccl. ix. 1.

Jer. xi. 20. and xvii. 10.

9. Now if men may go thus far, and yet be in the state of damnation, what hope then, First, of Heaven, for such profane, ungodly wretches, as are so far from having the power, as that they have not so much as the least show of godliness? What will become of those that sit them down in the chair of scorners, and despise the good Word of God, and make a scoff of those men that desire to square their lives by that rule, when some of them that hear it gladly, and receive it with joy, and are content to be ordered by it in many things, shall yet go to hell? Certainly Ahab, and Herod, and such cursed miscreants, shall rise up in judgment against these men, and condemn them; and they shall have their *portion—with hypocrites,* shall I say? Alas, woeful is their case, if their portion fall but there; but let them take heed lest their portion be not so good as the hypocrites', and that it be not ten times easier for Ahab and Herod, and the whole crew of such hypocrites, at the Day of Judgment, than for them.

§. 9. Inferences thence. First, of terror against profaneness. 2 Tim. iii. 5. Ps. i. 1. S. Mark vi. 20. S. Matthew xiii. 20. xxiv. 51.

10. Secondly, what a stark shame would it be for us, who have received *the first fruits of the Spirit,* not to bring forth *the fruits of* that *Spirit* in some good abundance, in the frequent and comfortable and actual exercises of those habitual graces that are in us, of faith, repentance, love, reformation, zeal, and the rest, seeing the counterfeits of these graces are oftentimes so eminent even in hypocrites and cast-aways? Shall a piece of rotten wood, or a glowworm shine so bright in the dark, and our holy lamps, fed with oil from Heaven, burn so dim? Nay, let our lights also, as well as their's, *shine before men,* yea, and outshine their's too, that men may see our truly good works as well as their seeming ones, and glorify our Father which is in Heaven. Although all be not gold that glistereth, yet pity it is that true gold should gather rust and lose the lustre for want of using, when brass and copper and baser metals are kept bright with scouring. Let not blear-eyed Leah have cause to rejoice against beautiful Rachel, or to insult over her barrenness: neither let us who profess ourselves to be Wisdom's children, suffer ourselves to be outstript by Nature's brats, in justifying our Mother. Rather let their *splendida peccata** provoke us to a godly jealousy and emulation, and spur us up to the quickening of those graces God hath given us, that *the power of godliness*

§. 10. Secondly, of exhortation, to abound in the fruits of godliness. Rom. viii. 23. Gal. v. 22. S. Matthew v. 16. S. Matthew xi. 19.

* S. Augustin. [See below, Sermon vi. §. 23.]

in us may be at least as fruitful in all outward performances as the show of it is in them.

§. 11.[t] Thirdly, of admonition to forbear judging.

11. Thirdly, this should teach us caution in our judging of other men's estates. We are apt to offend both ways. If we see a man overtaken with some gross scandalous sin, as drunkenness, adultery, oppression, or perjury, but especially if he live long therein, by and by he is a reprobate with us, or at least he is not yet in the state of grace. Thus we speak, thus we judge; but we consider not, the whilst, how far and how long God in His holy wisdom may suffer foul temptations to prevail against His chosen ones. On the other side, if we see a man forward in the duties of Religion, charitably affected to the poor, just and upright in his dealings with men, stoutly opposing against common corruptions, suffering for the profession of the Truth, by and by he is a Saint with us, and we stick not sometimes in our folly to wish that our souls might speed as that man's soul at a venture. But we consider not, the whilst, how far the force of natural Conscience, and common moral grace, if you will allow me to speak so improperly, may lead a man onward unto all outward performances, who was yet never effectually called nor truly sanctified. And yet, busy fools that we are, we cannot keep ourselves in our own bounds, but we must be meddling with God's prerogative, and thrusting ourselves into His chair, and be judging of our brethren, whose hearts we are so far from knowing as that we are scarce well acquainted with our own. But what have we to do either with one or other? what lawful commission have we at all to judge? or what certain evidence have we whereby to judge? Infallible signs we cannot have from any outward things, either of the want, or of the having of grace, in other men: yet of the two, far more pregnant probabilities of the want, than of the having of grace. Because there may be such an open course held in evil things, as we may justly doubt whether such a course can stand with grace or no: whereas there cannot be any course held in good things outwardly, but such as may stand with hypocrisy. What are we then to do? Even this: to use the judgment of Probability, hoping with cheerfulness that there is grace, where we see comfortable signs of it; and to use the judgment of Charity, still hoping the best, though not without some fear, that there may be grace, where we see fearful signs of the want of it.

1 Cor. xiii. 7.

S. Jude 23.

But for the judgment of Infallibility either *pro* or *con*, what sinful man dareth challenge that unto himself, unless it be *that man of sin*, who hath nestled himself higher than into Peter's Chair, into the throne of God, *sitting in the temple of God*, and there determining as God, and with his breath damning and sainting whom he listeth? But let him go; and let this be our direction in this point. Think we comfortably, where we see no reason to the contrary: hope we charitably, even where we do see some reason to the contrary. But judge we neither way peremptorily and definitively, whatsoever probabilities we see either way, sith we know not how far a sanctified believer may fall into the snares of sin, nor how far a graceless hypocrite may go in the show of Godliness. That is the third use.

2 Thess. ii. 3.

§. 12. Fourthly, Of direction; for the trial of sincerity:

12. The last and main Inference is for self-trial. For if a man may go thus far, and yet be an hypocrite, be a cast-away, it will concern every one of us, as we desire to have comfortable, both assurance of present grace, that we are not hypocrites, and hope of future glory, that we are not cast-aways, so to be district* in making trial, whether those graces that seem to be in us be true, or but counterfeit, and whether the acts thereof be fruits of sincerity, or but of hypocrisy. Let us not therefore flatter ourselves, or be too jolly upon it, if we find in ourselves some shows of godliness; but let us rather labour to find out whether there be in us the power and life of godliness, or no. For there is a kind of righteousness such as it is, an outward formal righteousness, in Scribes, and Pharisees, and hypocrites, but that will not serve the turn. Unless our righteousness exceed theirs, we shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Beloved, hypocrisy is spun of a fine thread, and is not easily discernible without very diligent examination. And things are not to be measured by the outward show, or by the lump and bulk; but by an exacter rule, whether they be true, or no. Dost thou hear the Word of God with joy? Dost thou bewail thy sins with tears? Dost thou avoid gross sins with care? Dost thou oppose against common corruptions with zeal? These are indeed comfortable signs, but no infallible evidences of grace; for what is there in all this which Ahab, and Saul, and Herod, and Judas, and other hypocrites, either have not, or might not have done? But, if

S. Matt. v. 20.

* 'district.' See Sermon iv. ad Magistr. §. 28.

not by these fruits, by what other means then may a man come to know the sanctification of his heart and the sincerity of these affections? Divines, in their treatises and writings, have set down sundry notes and marks, whereby to make this trial; but I would especially commend to your observation two only out of all that variety, which two are indeed as good as a thousand, namely, Integrity and Constancy: for these two are never in the hypocrite.

§. 13. by the marks, 1. Of Integrity.

13. First, for Integrity. The hypocrite, we heard, might go far in hearing, in believing, in sorrowing, in reforming, in suffering; but his affections herein, for so much as they spring not from true faith, and the conscience of that obedience he oweth to God, but from other respects, are partial in all those duties, and carry him so far only as those false grounds, which first gave motion to those affections, lead him, and no further. He receiveth the Word with joy, so far as it tickleth the ear with choiceness of phrase and variety of elocution, so far as it fitteth with his humour, and keepeth fair and far off from meddling with his bosom sin; but he is not equally delighted with every part, and with every point of God's Word, and Truth. If the right string be touched, if his sweet darling-sin be stirred, that is harsh to him, he findeth no music in that: rub him where he is galled, and he kicketh at it. Herod heard

S. Mark vi. 20, 17, 27. S. Luke xiii. 32.

John Baptist gladly, and did many things willingly; but when his incestuous marriage was meddled withal, then the fox was uncased, and the hypocrite appeared in his own colours, and the Baptist lost first his liberty, and then after his head, for his labour. And the young man, when Christ told him what he must do to inherit eternal life in the general, *Keep the*

S. Matt. xix. 17, 20.

Commandments, was no doubt a jolly jocund man: *All these have I kept from my youth up.* But when Christ hitteth him

Verse 21.

home, and presseth upon his particular corruption, *One thing is wanting, &c.* this nipped him in the head, and struck cold

Verse 22.

to his heart; and, the Text saith, *he went away sorrowful.* And ever mark it, in something or other the hypocrite bewrayeth himself what he is, if not to the observation of others, yet at least sufficiently for the conviction of his own heart, if he would not be wanting to himself in the due search and trial of his heart. A man's blood riseth when he heareth a stranger swear an oath; but if the same man can hear his prentice lie, and equivocate, and cozen, and never move at it, let him

not be too brag* of his zeal: his coldness here discovereth the other to have been but a false fire, and a fruit, not of true zeal, but of hypocrisy. A Jesuit maketh scruple of disclosing an intended treason revealed to him in confession; but he maketh no bones of laying a powder-plot, or contriving the murder of an anointed King. A Pharisee is very precise in tithing mint and cummin, but balketh† justice and mercy. One straineth at a gnat, and swalloweth a camel: maketh conscience of some petty sins, neglecting greater. Another casteth out a beam, but feeleth not a mote; maketh conscience of some greater sins, neglecteth smaller. Shame of the world and the cry of people maketh him forbear some sins; an eye had to his own private and secret ends, other some; fear of temporal punishment, or, it may be, eternal, other some; hope of some advantage another way, as in his credit, profit, &c. other some; the terrors of an affrighted conscience, other some; but if in the mean time there be no care, nor scruple, nor forbearance of other sins, where there appeareth no hindrance from these or the like respects, all is naught, all is but counterfeit and damnable hypocrisy. The rule never faileth, *Quicquid propter Deum fit, aequaliter fit.*[c] True obedience, as it disputeth not the command, but obeyeth cheerfully, so neither doth it divide the command, but obeyeth equally. David had wanted one main assurance of the uprightness of his heart, if he had not had an equal and universal respect to all God's Commandments. That is the first note of sincerity, Integrity.

S. Matthew xxiii. 23. Verse 24.

Ps. cxix. 6.

14. The other is Constancy, continuance, or lasting. The seeming graces of hypocrites may be as forward and impetuous for the time, as the true graces of the sincere believer, nay, more forward oftentimes: as in the stony ground the seed sprang up so much the sooner, by how much it had the less depth of earth. But the very same cause, that made it

§. 14. 2. Of Constancy.

S. Matthew xiii. 5, 6.

* 'brag,' *brisk, full of spirits.* Nares. To his instances of the use of this adjective by B. Jonson and others, add Spenser, Shepherd's Kalendar, February, 71. and compare a letter from J. Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, Dec. 20, 1623. 'the Papists, ... that were so brag of late.' Court and Times of James I. ii. 442.

† 'balketh,' *overlooketh, neglecteth, omitteth.* Compare Sermon ii. ad Magistr. §. 29.

[c] Opus imperf. in S. Matt. Hom. 45. [Omne bonum quod fit propter Deum, in omnibus rebus aequaliter observatur. in tom. ii. Opp. Chrysost. Paris. 1588. col. 905 A.]

put up so soon, made it wither again as soon, even because it wanted deepness of earth. So the hypocrite, when the fit taketh him, he is all on the spur: there is no way with him, but a new man he will become out of hand, yea, that he will, *momento turbinis.*[d] But he setteth on too violently to hold out long: this reformation ripeneth too fast to be right spiritual fruit. As an horse that is good at hand, but naught at length, so is the hypocrite, free and fiery for a spurt, but he jadeth* and tireth in a journey. But true grace all to the contrary: as it ripeneth for the most part by leisure, so it ever lasteth longer:[e] as Philosophers say of habits, that as they are gotten hardly, so they are not lost easily. We heard but now, that the faith, repentance, reformation, obedience, joy, sorrow, zeal, and other the graces and affections of hypocrites, had their first motion and issue from false and erroneous grounds, as shame, fear, hope, and such respects. And it thence cometh to pass, that where these respects cease, which gave them motion, the graces themselves can no more stand, than a house can stand when the foundation is taken from under it. The boy that goeth to his book no longer than his master holdeth the rod over him, the master's back once turned, away goeth the book, and he to play; and right so is it with the hypocrite. Take away the rod from Pharaoh, and he will be old Pharaoh still. And Ahab, here in this chapter thus humbled before God at the voice of His Prophet, this fit once past, we see in the next chapter, regardeth neither God nor Prophet, but through unbelief disobeyeth God, and imprisoneth the Prophet. Now then, here is a wide difference between the hypocrite and the godly man. The one doth all by fits, and by starts, and by sudden motions and flashes: whereas the other goeth on fairly and soberly in a settled, constant, regular course of humiliation and obedience. Aristotle[f] hath excellently taught us to distinguish between colours that arise from passion, and from complexion. The one, he saith, is scarce worth the name of a quality or colour, because

1 Kings xxii. 27.

[d] Persius. [Sat. v. 78.]

* 'jadeth,' *loseth spirit.* Johnson quotes a parallel passage from South's Sermons, 'They are promising in the beginning, but they fail and jade and tire in the prosecution.' Compare 'jade,' Sermon iv. ad Populum, §. 3.

[e] Qualitatis verae tenor permanet, falsa non durant. Seneca, Epist. 120.

[f] In Categoriis, cap. de Qualit. [viii. 12–15.]

it scarce giveth denomination to the subject wherein it is. If Socrates be of a pale or an high-coloured complexion, to the question, *Qualis est Socrates?* What a like man is Socrates? it may be fitly answered, saith Aristotle, that he is a pale man, or that he is an high-coloured man. But when a man of another complexion is yet pale for fear or anger, or red with blushing, we do not use to say, neither can we say properly, that he is a pale man, or a high-coloured man. Accordingly we are to pronounce of those good things that sometimes appear in hypocrites. We call them indeed graces, and we do well, because they seem to be such, and because we in charity are to hope that they be such as they seem; but they are in true judgment nothing less than true graces, neither should they indeed, if we were able to discern the falseness of them, give denomination to those hypocrites in whom they are found. For why should a man, from a sudden and short fit of repentance, or zeal, or charity, or religion, be called a penitent, or a zealous, or a charitable, or a religious man, more than a man, for once or twice blushing, an high-coloured man? Then are graces true, when they are habitual and constant and equal to themselves. That is the second note, Constancy.

15. I will not trouble you with other notes besides these. Do but lay these two together, and they will make a perfect good rule for us to judge our own hearts by, and to make trial of the sincerity of those good things that seem to be in us. Measure them not by the present heat; for that may be as much, perhaps more, in an hypocrite, than in a true believer, but by their Integrity and Constancy. A man of a cold complexion hath as much heat in a sharp fit of an ague, as he that is of a hot constitution and in health; and more too: his blood is more inflamed, and he burneth more. But whether do you think is the more kindly heat; that which cometh from the violence of a fever, or that which ariseth from the condition of a man's temper? No man maketh doubt of it, but this is the more kindly, though that may be more sensible and intense. Well then, a man findeth himself hot in his body, and fain he would know, whether it be *calor praeter naturam*, or no: whether a kindly and natural heat, or else the forerunner or symptom of some disease. There is no better way to come to that knowledge, than by these two notes, Uni-

§. 15. Both joined together for Trial.

versality and Constancy. First, for Universality. Physicians say of heat, and sweat, and such like things, *Universalia salutaria, partialia ex morbo.** If a man be hot in one part and cold in another, as if the palms of his hands burn and the soles of his feet be cold, then all is not right; but if he be of an indifferent equal heat all over, that is held a good sign of health. Then for Constancy and Lasting. If the heat come by fits and starts and paroxysms, leaping eftsoons† and suddenly out of one extreme into another, so as the party one while gloweth as hot as fire, another while is chill and cold as ice, and keepeth not at any certain stay;‡ that is an ill sign too, and it is to be feared there is an ague either bred or in breeding; but if he continue at some reasonable certainty, and within a good mediocrity of heat and cold, it is thought a good sign of health. As men judge of the state of their bodies, by the like rule judge thou of the state of thy soul. First, for Integrity and Universality. Is thy repentance, thy obedience, thy zeal, thy hatred of sin, other graces in thee, universal? equally bent upon all good, equally set against all evil things? It is a good sign of grace and sanctification in the heart. But if thou repentest of one sin and persistest in another, if thou obeyest one Commandment and breakest another, if thou art zealous in one point and cool in another, if thou hatest one vice and lovest another, flatter not thyself too much, thou hast reason to suspect all is not sound within. Then for Continuance and Lasting. I deny not but, in case of prevailing temptations, the godly may have sometimes uncomfortable and fearful intermissions in the practice of godliness, which yet make him not altogether graceless: as a man may have sometimes little distempers in his body, through mis-diet or otherwise, and yet not be heartsick, or greater distempers too sometimes to make him sick, and yet be heartwhole. But yet if for the most part, and in the ordinary constant course of thy life, thou hast the practice of repentance and obedience, and other fruits of grace in some good comfortable measure, it is a good sign of grace and sanctification in the heart. But if thou hast these things

* Compare Sermon ii. ad Clerum, §. 22. and De Conscientia, Praelect. vi. §. 25.

† 'eftsoons,' *repeatedly*. Compare Sermon iii. ad Aulam, §. 23.

‡ 'certain stay.' The same expression occurs in Sermon xiv. ad Aulam, §. 10. Compare, 'and never continueth in one stay,' in the Burial Service.

only by fits and starts and sudden moods, and art sometimes violently hot upon them, other sometimes again, and oftener, key cold,* presume not too much upon shows, but suspect thyself still of hypocrisy and insincerity, and never cease by repentance and prayer, and the constant exercise of other good graces, to physic and diet thy soul, till thou hast by God's goodness put thyself into some reasonable assurance, that thou art the true child of God, a sincere believer, and not an hypocrite, as Ahab here, notwithstanding all this his solemn humiliation, was. Here is Ahab an hypocrite, and yet humbled before the Lord.

§. 16. The opening of the second Observation.

16. But yet now, this humiliation, such as it was, what should work it in him? That we find declared at verse 27. *And it came to pass that when Ahab heard these words, &c.* There came to him a message from God by the hand of Elijah; and that was it that humbled him. Alas, what was Elijah to Ahab? a silly,† plain Prophet to a mighty King? that he durst thus presume to rush boldly and unsent for into the presence of such a potent Monarch, who had no less power, and withal more colour, to take away his life than Naboth's? and that when he was in the top of his jollity, solacing himself in the new-taken possession of his new-gotten Vineyard, and there to his face charge him plainly with, and shake him up roundly for, and denounce God's judgments powerfully against, his bloody, abominable oppressions? We would think, a Monarch nusled‡ up in idolatry, and accustomed to blood, and hardened in sin and obstinacy, should not have brooked that insolency from such a one as Elijah was, but have made his life a ransom for his sauciness. And yet, behold, the words of this underling in comparison, how they fall like thunder upon the great guilty

* 'key cold,' *very cold.* 'Poor key-cold figure of a holy king.' Shakspeare, Richard III. i. 2. 'Till they be key cold dead, there's no trusting of 'em.' Beaumont and Fletcher, The Wildgoose Chase, iv. 3. 'on the key-cold floor,' in the Song Robin Goodfellow, attributed to Ben Jonson.

† 'silly,' *weakly, feeble,* as below, Sermon vi. §. 37. Compare 2 Tim. iii. 6. *γυναικάρια, silly women;* the second part of the Homily on Good Friday, 'If God declared so great love towards us His silly creatures;' the Primer of Henry viii. 'we silly vessels of clay;' and the third Part of K. Henry VI. iii. 3. 'You tell a pedigree Of threescore and two years; a silly time To make prescription for a Kingdom's worth.'

‡ 'nusled,' *nursed,* quasi *nursled.* Nares; who, among other instances, gives Spenser, F. Q. I. vi. 23, where it is written *nousled.* In Somersetshire, 'noozle' is used for 'nestle.' Below, Sermon iii. §. 20, it is written, *nuzzle.*

offender, and strike palsy into his knees and trembling into his joints, and tumble him from the height of his jollity, and roll him in sackcloth and ashes, and cast him into a strong fit of legal humiliation. *Seest thou how Ahab is humbled before me?*

§. 17. Observat. II. The power of God's Word. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

17. And here now cometh in our second Observation, even the power of God's Word over the consciences of obstinate sinners, powerful to cast down *strong holds*, and every high thought that exalteth itself against God. That which in Heb. iv., if I mistake not the true understanding of that place, is spoken of the Essential Word of God, the second Person in the Ever-blessed Trinity, is also in some analogy true of the revealed Word of God, the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, that it is *quick and powerful, and more cutting than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow.* *Is not my word like as a fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer, that breaketh the rock in pieces?* Like a soft fire, to dissolve and melt the hearts of relenting sinners and true converts; but like a strong hammer, to batter and break in pieces the rocky and flinty consciences of obstinate and hardened offenders. Examples hereof if you require, behold, in the stories of the Kings, Saul whining when Samuel reproveth him; in the books of the Prophets, the Ninevites drooping when Jonas threateneth them; in the Acts of the Apostles, Felix trembling when Paul discourseth before him; in the Martyrologies of the Church, tyrants and bloody persecutors maskered * at the bold confessions of the poor suffering Christians; in this chapter, proud Ahab mourning, when Elijah telleth him his sin, and foretelleth him his punishment.

Heb. iv. 12. τομώτερος. Jer. xxiii. 29. 1 Sam. xv. 24. Jonah iii. 5. Acts xxiv. 25.

§. 18. with the causes thereof. 1°. in the Instrument,

18. Effects, which might justly seem strange to us, if the causes were not apparent. One cause, and the principal, is in the instrument, the Word: not from any such strength in itself, for so it is but a dead letter; but because of God's ordi-

* 'maskered,' *put out of countenance;* abashed and confounded to such a degree that the expression of their faces was, for the time, as unlike the natural and usual expression as a mask would have been: they looked as if they had become maskers. For the secondary sense, 'confounded,' 'bewildered,' compare Holinshed, ii. p. 1007. ed. 1577. 'dimming the brightnesse of true honor, so maskered his understanding, that in the ende they brought him to tract the steppes of lewde demeanor, and so were causers both of his and their owne destruction.'

nance in it. For in His hands are the hearts and the tongues and the ears both of Kings and Prophets; and He can easily, when He seeth it good, put the spirit of zeal and of power into the heart of the poorest Prophet, and as easily the spirit of fear and of terror into the heart of the greatest King. He chooseth weak instruments, as here Elijah, and yet furnisheth them with power to effect great matters, that so the glory might not rest upon the instrument, but redound wholly to Him as to the chief Agent that employeth it. *We have this treasure in earthen vessels,* saith St. Paul, *that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.* We say, 'Words are but wind;' and indeed the words of the best Minister are no better, as they are breathed out and uttered by sinful mortal man, whose breath is in his nostrils; but yet this wind, as it is breathed in and inspired by the powerful, eternal Spirit of God, is strong enough, by His effectual working with it, not only to shake the top branches, but to rend up the very bottom root of the tallest cedar in Lebanon. *Vox Domini confringens cedros, The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation; the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice: the voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars; yea, the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon.*

2 Cor. iv. 7.

Ps. xxix. 4, 5.

19. Another cause is in the object, and that is, the force of natural conscience, which the most presumptuous sinner can never so stifle, though he endeavour all he can to do it, but that it will be sometimes snubbing, and stinging, and lashing, and vexing him with ugly representations of his past sins, and terrible suggestions of future vengeance. And then of all other times is the force of it most lively, when the voice of God in His Word awakeneth it after a long dead sleep. Then it riseth, and, Sampson-like, rouseth up itself, and bestirreth itself lustily *as a giant refreshed with wine;* and it putteth the disquieted patient to such unsufferable pain, that he runneth up and down like a distracted man, and doth he knoweth not what, and seeketh for ease he knoweth not where. Then he would give all Dives his wealth * for a drop of water to cool the heat

§. 19. 2°. in the Object;

S. Luke xvi. 24.

* 'Dives his wealth.' This mode of writing the genitive occurs continually in Hacket's Life of Williams, e. g. i. 62. 'It was K. James his wont to give like a King.' 210. 'Lucullus his Apollo.' ii. 7. 'My Lord of Middleton his Lease of the Sugars.' 34. 'in Dr. Holbech his time.'

Gen. xxv. 30, 31. he feeleth, and, with Esau, part with his birth-right, for any thing, though it were never so little or mean, that would give him but the least present refreshing, and preserve him from fainting. Then sackcloth, and ashes, and fasting, and weeping, and mourning, and renting the garments,* and tearing the hair, and knocking the breast, and outcries to Heaven, and all those other things which he could not abide to hear of in the time of his former security, whilst his conscience lay fast asleep and at rest, are now in all haste and greedily entertained, and all too little, if by any means they can possibly give any ease or assuagement to the present torment he feeleth in his soul.

§. 20. 3°. in the fit application of the one to the other.

20. A third cause is oftentimes in the application of the instrument to the object. For although God's Word in the general be powerful, and the Conscience of itself be of a stirring nature, yet then ordinarily doth the Word of God work most powerfully upon the consciences of obstinate sinners, when it is throughly and closely applied to some special corruption, whereunto the party cannot plead not guilty; when the sin and the judgment are both so driven home that the guilty offender can neither avoid the evidence of the one, nor the fear of the other. A plain instance whereof we have in this present history of King Ahab. When Elijah first came to him in the vineyard, he was pert enough: *Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?* But by that the Prophet had done with him, told him of the sin, which was notorious, *Hast thou killed, and taken possession?* foretold him of the judgment, which was heavy, *I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, &c.*, the man was not the man: Elijah left him in a far other tune than he found him in. The Prophet's words wrought sore upon him, and his conscience wrought sore within him: both together wrought him to the humiliation we now speak of: *It came to pass, when he heard these words, that he rent his*

Verse 20. Verse 19. Verse 21, &c.

i. 146. 'Olivarez his fidelity.' Archdeacon Hare, in a very interesting paper on English Orthography, in the Philological Museum, i. 640–678, after exhibiting examples of this form of the genitive from many of our best writers, pronounces it in every case a gross blunder. May it not have had its origin in the practice, very common in one period of our Language, of coupling the pronoun with the substantive in the nominative case? e. g. 'God he knows.' Shakspeare, Comedy of Errors, v. 1. K. Richard III. iii. 1 and 7. Third Part of K. Henry VI. i. 4. 'Heaven he knows.' K. John, v. 7. Compare Sermon ii. end of §. 7.

* 'renting the garments.' So, originally, in the Authorized Version, S. John xix. 24. *Let us not rent it.*

clothes, &c. If you desire another instance, turn to Acts xxiv., where there is a right good one, and full to this purpose. There we read that Felix, the Roman Deputy in Jewry, trembled *when Paul reasoned of Justice, and of Temperance, and of the Judgment to come.* What was that thing, may we think, in St. Paul's reasoning, which especially made Felix to tremble? It is commonly taken to be the doctrine of the Last Judgment, which is indeed a terrible doctrine, and able, if it be throughly apprehended, to make the stoutest of the sons of men to tremble. But I take it that is not all. The very thing that made Felix tremble seemeth rather to be, that Paul's discourse fell upon those special vices wherein he was notably faulty, and then clapt in close with judgment upon them. For Felix was noted of much cruelty and injustice in the administration of the affairs of Jewry, howsoever Tertullus, like a smooth Orator, to curry favour with him, and to do Paul a displeasure, did flatteringly commend his government; and he was noted also of incontinency, both otherwise, and especially in marrying Drusilla who was another man's wife. Tacitus, speaking of him in the fifth of his History, painteth him out thus; *Per omnem saevitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit.*[h] And for such a man as governed with cruelty and rapine, and lived in unchaste wedlock, to hear one reason powerfully of justice, and of chastity, for so much the word ἐγκράτεια there used properly importeth, and of judgment, it is no wonder if it make him tremble.

Acts xxiv. 25.

Verse 2, &c.

21. Do thou consider this and tremble, whosoever thou art, that in thy thoughts despisest the holy Word of God, accounting of it but as of some human invention to keep fools in awe withal, and thou also, whosoever thou art, that undervaluest this precious treasure, for the meanness or other infirmities of the earthen vessel wherein it is conveyed. Tell me, dost thou not herein struggle against the testimony and evidence of thine own heart? Doth not thine own conscience and experience tell thee, that this *sword of the Spirit* hath a keen edge, and biteth and pierceth where it goeth? Hath it not sometimes galled, and rubbed, and lanced, and cut thee to the very bone, and entered even to the dividing asunder of the joints and of the marrow? [Hath it not sometimes, as it were,

§. 21. An inference against those that despise the Word.

1 Cor. iv. 7.

Eph. vi. 17.

[h] Tacitus, Hist. v. [9.]

by subtle and serpentine insinuations strangely wound itself through those many crooked and labyrinthean turnings that are in thine heart, into the very inmost corner and centre thereof, and there ripped up thy bowels and thy reins, and raked out the filth and corruption that lurked within thee, and set thy secretest thoughts in order before thy face, in such sort as that thou hast been strucken with astonishment and horror at the discovery?] Though perhaps it have not yet softened and melted thy stony and obdurate heart, yet didst thou never perceive it hammering about it, with sore strokes and knocks, as if it would break and shiver it into a thousand pieces? Doubtless thou hast; and if thou wouldst deny it, thy conscience is able to give thy tongue the lie, and to convince thee to thy face. And if thou hast, why then dost thou not readily acknowledge the voice of God in it, having felt in it that lively power and efficacy which it is not possible any device of the wit of man should have? Take heed then how thou dost traduce, or despise, or but undervalue that, upon any seeming pretence whatsoever, for which thou hast such a strong witness in thine own heart, from the experience of the unresisted power of it, that it is indeed the Word of God, and not the breath of sinful man. Felix trembled at it, Ahab was humbled by it; the one an atheist, the other an hypocrite. Thou art worse than either atheist or hypocrite, if it work not at least as much upon thee. Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself at the voice of the Prophet?

§. 22. The success of Ahab's humiliation;

22. From Ahab's humiliation, and the occasion thereof, pass we now to consider, in the last place, the success of it. Ahab is humbled at the Prophet's denouncing of judgment against him; and God hence taketh occasion to be so gracious to Ahab, as, though not wholly to remove, yet to suspend and adjourn the judgment for a time. *Seest thou how Ahab is humbled before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days, &c.* And here must God's Holiness be brought unto a trial, before the bar of carnal reason, if by any means it can justify itself. God hateth the works of hypocrites: He loatheth even sacrifices without mercy: His soul cannot away with the oblations and new moons and solemn feasts of men that have their hands full of blood: no, not though they make many prayers, and tender them with be-

Hosea vi. 6.
Is. i. 13–15.

haviour of greatest devotion, stretching out their hands towards Heaven, and afflicting their souls with fasting, and hanging down their heads as bulrushes, with pensiveness. But even their best sacrifices, and confessions, and prayers, and humiliations are an abomination unto Him, so far from appeasing His wrath against other sins, as that they provoke His yet further displeasure against themselves. Such is the Holiness of our God, and such the Purity of His nature: with which Holiness and Purity how can it stand to accept and reward, as here He seemeth to do, the counterfeit humiliation of such a wretched hypocrite as we now suppose Ahab to be?

Ps. xxxv. 13. Is. lviii. 5. Prov. xv. 8.

§. 23. and how it may consist with the Holiness of God.

23. For the clearing of this difficulty, first, let it be granted, which I take to be a certain truth, and for any thing I know never yet gainsaid by any, that Ahab, not only before and after, but even in the act and at the instant of this humiliation, was an hypocrite. Let it be granted, secondly, which is the thing urged in the doubt, that this humiliation of his, being performed but in hypocrisy, was not acceptable to God, as a good work, but abominable before Him, as a foul sin. But yet withal it must be granted, thirdly, that, although Ahab did not well in not being humbled with an upright heart, yet he had done much worse, if he had not been humbled at all; and that therefore there was, though no true spiritual goodness, yet some outward moral goodness in Ahab's humiliation, at least so far forth as a thing less evil may in comparison of a worser thing be termed good. And then are we to know, fourthly, that it may stand with God's holiness, as it doth with His goodness and justice, to reward outward good things with outward good things, and moral and temporary graces with worldly and temporal blessings, as here He rewardeth Ahab's temporary and external humiliation with an outward temporal favour, viz. the adjourning of an outward temporal judgment.

§. 24. Obs. III. Concerning the reward of common graces;

24. That which hence we would observe, is, that God rewardeth sometimes common graces with common favours, temporary obedience with temporal beneficence. This is proved unto us, first, from the general course of God's justice, and His promise, grounded upon that justice, to reward every man according to his works. To which justice of His and to which promise of His it is agreeable, as to recompense spiritual good

things with eternal, so to recompense moral good things with temporal rewards.[h] Secondly, from special express warrant of Scripture. In St. Matt. vi. Christ saith of hypocrites more than once, that *they have their reward.* As in the doing of their seeming good works they aim especially at the vain praise and commendation of men, so they have the full reward of those works in the vain praise and commendation of men. Though they have no right unto, nor reason to look for, a reward hereafter in Heaven, yet *they have their reward,* such as it is, and all they are like to have, here upon earth. Thirdly, from particular examples of such as have been temporally rewarded for temporal graces. To omit Heathens,[i] as viz. Aristides, Cyrus, &c. for justice; Bias, Diogenes, &c. for contempt of the world; Codrus, Regulus, &c. for love of their country and zeal to the common good; and sundry others, for other good things, whose moral virtues are herein amply rewarded, if there were nothing else but this, that their names and memories have been preserved in Histories, and renowned throughout the world in all succeeding generations. I say, to omit these Heathens, we have examples in Scripture; of Ahab here, of Jehu,[k] of the Ninevites, of others elsewhere, who for their temporary obedience, zeal, repentance, and the like, were rewarded, partly by temporal blessings upon themselves and their posterity, partly by the removal or adjournal of temporal punishments, which otherwise had speedily overtaken them. Fourthly, from the greater to the less. God sometimes temporally rewardeth the services of such men as are but *bruta instrumenta,* brute instruments of His Will and Provi-

S. Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16.

2 Kings x. 30. Jonah iii. 10.

[h] Quibus ergo [scil. Romanis] non erat Deus daturus vitam aeternam, ... si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam [excellentissimi imperii] concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est, virtutibus, quibus [ad tantam gloriam pervenire nitebantur.] Augustin. de Civ. Dei, v. 15. [tom. vii. 131 D.]

[i] [Caeterum ex eo quod Nabuchodonosor mercedem accepit boni operis,] intelligimus etiam Ethnicos, si quid boni fecerint, non absque mercede Dei judicio praeteriri. Hieron. in Ezech. xxix. [20. tom. v. 353 A. ed. Vallars.] God, who even among the Heathen, [which have not known His name, doth favour virtue and hate vice,] hath often rewarded moral honesty with temporal happiness. W. Ralegh, Hist. of the World, ii. 8. §. 3.

[k] Quid ei profuit, quod pro nonnulla obedientia, quam de domo Achab omnino delenda cupiditate suae dominationis exhibuit, aliquantam mercedem transitoriam regni temporalis accepit? Augustin. contra Mendacium, cap. 2. [tom. vi. 449 C. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

dence, such as are employed by Him for the bringing about of His most holy and secret purposes, *citra rationem finis, aut eorum quae ad finem*, in the doing of such things as they do without the least mixture, in their own purpose and intent, of any respect at all to God or His ends, but merely for the satisfying of their own corrupt lusts, and the achieving of their own private ends. A notable example whereof we have in God's dealing with Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxix, where the word of the Lord cometh to Ezekiel, saying, *Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it: therefore thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and it shall be wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour wherewith he served against Tyrus, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God.* In which place we see Egypt is given to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for the service he did against Tyrus, because therein, though he neither intended any such thing, nor so much as knew it, he yet was the instrument to work God's purpose upon and against Tyrus. And then how much more will God reward temporally the service and obedience of such, as purposely and knowingly endeavour an outward conformity unto the holy will and pleasure of God, though with strong and predominant mixture of their own corrupt appetites and ends therewithal. Ezek. xxix. 18–20.

25. Now the Reasons, why God should thus outwardly reward the outward works of hypocrites, are, first, the manifestation of His own Goodness, that we might know how willing He is to cherish the least spark of any goodness in any man, be it natural, or moral, or whatever other goodness it be, that He might thereby encourage us so to labour the improvement of those good things in us, as to make ourselves capable of greater rewards. Secondly, His Justice and Equity in measuring unto sinners and hypocrites exactly according to the measure they mete unto Him. They serve Him with graces which are not true graces indeed, He rewardeth them with blessings which are not indeed true blessings. Somewhat they §. 25. with sundry Reasons thereof;

must do to God, and therefore they afford Him a little temporary obedience, and there is all the service He shall have from them. Somewhat God will do for them, and in requital alloweth them a little temporary favour, and there is all the reward they must look for from Him. Here is *Quid pro Quo.* They give God the outward work, but without any hearty affection to Him: God giveth them the outward benefit, but without any hearty affection to them. For want of which hearty affection on both sides, it cometh to pass, that neither is the outward work truly acceptable to Him, nor the outward benefit truly profitable to them. A third reason of God's thus graciously dealing even with hypocrites may be assigned with reference to His own dear children and chosen, for whose good especially, next under His own Glory, all the passages of His Divine Providence, both upon them and others, are disposed in such sort as they are: as for whose comfort this manner of proceeding maketh very much and sundry ways, as I shall by and by touch in the Inferences from this Observation, whereunto I now come, because it is time I should draw towards a conclusion.

§. 26. and Inferences thence,

26. And first: by what hath been already said a way is opened for the clearing of God's Holiness in these His proceedings. If sometimes He temporally reward hypocrites, is it not either for their own, or for their work's sake, as if He either accepted their persons or approved their obedience? No, it is but *Lex talionis,* He dealeth with them as they deal with Him. They do Him but eye-service, and He giveth them but eye-wages. Indeed God can neither be deceived, nor deceive; yet, as they would deceive God in their service, with such obedience as falleth short of true obedience, so they are deceived in their pay from Him, with such blessings as fall short of true blessings. And all this may well stand with God's both Justice and Holiness. Secondly, it appeareth from the premisses that God's thus dealing with wicked and unsanctified men, in thus rewarding their outward good things, giveth no warrant nor strength at all, either to that Popish corrupt doctrine of *Meritum congrui,** in deserving the first grace by

* See the thirteenth Article. '... neque gratiam de congruo merentur.' Thus explained by Romaeus, de Libertate Operum et Necessitate, &c. p. 163. Illud dicitur esse meritum de condigno, cui merces reddenda est secundum justitiae debitum, ita sane ut inter meritum

the right use of naturals, or to that rotten principle and foundation of the whole frame of Pelagianism,* *Facienti quod in se est, Deus non potest, non debet, denegare gratiam.*† We know, God rewards His own true and spiritual graces in us, with increase of those graces here, and with glory hereafter. We see God rewardeth even false and outward and seeming graces, natural and moral good things, with outward and temporal favours. And all this is most agreeable to His infinite both Justice and Mercy, and may stand with the infinite Purity and Holiness of His Nature. But this were rather to make God an unjust and unholy God, to bind Him to reward the outward and sinful works of hypocrites; for the best natural or moral works without grace are but such, with true saving grace and inward sanctification. Other inferences and uses more might be added: as viz. thirdly, for our imitation: by God's example to take knowledge of, and to commend, and to cherish even in wicked men, those natural or moral parts that are eminent

et mercedem attendatur aequalitas quantitatis, quemadmodum in commutativa justitia tantum quantum. De congruo autem dicitur quis mereri, cum scilicet inter meritum et praemium non paritas quantitatis sed proportionis dicitur. Compare Hooker, Sermon ii. §. 32. 'He which holdeth works going before our vocation, in congruity to merit our vocation; works following our first, to merit our second justification, and by condignity our last reward in the Kingdom of Heaven, pulleth up the doctrine of faith by the roots; for out of every of these the plain denial thereof may be necessarily concluded.']

* 'Pelagianism.' So first in 1657, instead of 'Arminianism,' which had stood in the three previous Editions, 1627, 1632, and 1637. Compare Sermon ii. §. 9, and see the note on §. 2, above. Of the language held in reference to Arminianism the following may serve as specimens. Within the short compass of the address made by Prideaux, as Regius Professor of Divinity, to K. James I, at Woodstock, August 24, 1624, 'Arminianismus' was three times mentioned between 'Papismus' and 'Puritanismus.' T. Hill, in a Sermon preached before the University, May 24, 1631, spoke of 'Popish darts whet afresh upon a Dutch grindstone.' Featly, in his Sermon, 'Pandora her box,' had this paragraph, which the Licenser struck out: 'What are the great foxes but the Priests and Jesuits? What are the little foxes but the demi-Pelagian cubs? which will spoil our fairest clusters, the Colleges of both Universities, if in time they be not looked unto, as they have done already in our neighbour vine in the Low Countries.' And Prynne, in the Dedication to his Canterbury's Doom, 1646, denounced 'Popish, Arminian, soul-destroying errors,' and, p. 155, described Arminianism as 'the most plausible, less discernible, doctrinal part of Popery, yet a ready Jesuitical postern to let in all the rest.'

† Quare propositionem illam vulgarem, *Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam*, intelligit S. Thomas tum de gratia habituali, quam Deus non denegat; tum de eo qui facit quod in se est, ex auxilio gratiae. Vasquez, Comment. ac Disput. in Primam Secundae, ii. p. 414. col. 1. Cf. 415. col. 2. Lugd. 1631.

in them, and whatsoever good thing they do in outward actual conformity to the revealed Will and Law of God. And, fourthly, for exhortation to such as do not yet find any comfortable assurance that their obedience and good works are true and sincere, yet to go on, and not to grow weary of well doing, knowing that their labour is not altogether in vain, in as much as their works, though perhaps done in hypocrisy, shall procure them temporal blessings here, and some abatement withal, I add that by the way, of stripes and everlasting punishment hereafter.

§. 27. especially for comfort to the godly, 1°. against the prosperity of the wicked;

27. But I pass by all these and the like Uses, and commend but one more unto you. And that is it which I named before as one reason of the point observed, viz. the comfort of God's dear children and servants, and that sundry ways. First, here is comfort for them, against a temptation which often assaulteth them, and that with much violence and danger, arising from the sense and observation of the prosperity and flourishing estate of the wicked in this world. We may see in the Psalms, and elsewhere, how frequently and strongly David, Job, and Jeremy, and other godly ones were assailed with this temptation. For thy instruction then, and to arm thee against this so common and universal a temptation, if thou shalt see fools on horseback, ungodly ones laden with wealth, with honour, with ease, hypocrites blessed with the fat of the earth, and the dew of Heaven, and abundance of all the comforts of this life, yet be not thou discomforted at it, or disquieted with it: *Do not fret thyself because of the ungodly, neither be thou envious at evil doers.* Thou expectest for thine inward obedience an unproportionable reward in the life to come, do not therefore grudge their outward obedience a proportionable reward in this life. Some good things or other thou mayest think there are in them, for which God bestoweth those outward blessings upon them. But consider withal, that as they have their reward here, so they have all their reward here; and, whatsoever their present prosperity be, yet the time will come, and that ere long be, when *the hope of the hypocrite shall wither*, and *the end of the wicked shall be cut off.*

Ps. xxxvii. and lxxiii. Job xxi. 7, &c. Jer. xii. 1, &c. Ps. xxxvii. 1. Job viii. 13. Ps. xxxvii. 38.

§. 28. 2°. against

28. Again, here is a second Comfort for the godly against temporal afflictions, and it ariseth thus. As God's love and

favour goeth not always with those temporal benefits He bestoweth, so, on the other side, God's wrath and displeasure goeth not always with those temporal afflictions He inflicteth. For as He rewardeth those few good things that are in evil men with these temporal benefits, for whom yet, in His Justice, He reserveth eternal damnation, as the due wages, by that Justice, of their graceless impenitency, so He punisheth those remnants of sin that are in godly men with these temporal afflictions, for whom yet, in His Mercy, He reserveth eternal Salvation, as the due wages, yet by that mercy only, of their faith, and repentance, and holy obedience. As Abraham said to the rich glutton* in the Parable, *Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* As if he had said, If thou hadst any thing good in thee, remember thou hast had thy reward in earth already, and now there remaineth for thee nothing but the full punishment of thine ungodliness there in hell; but as for Lazarus, he hath had the chastisement of his infirmities on earth already, and now remaineth for him nothing but the full reward of his godliness here in Heaven. Thus the meditation of this doctrine yieldeth good comfort against temporal afflictions.

temporal Afflictions;

S. Luke vi. 25.

29. Here is yet a third Comfort, and that of the three the greatest, unto the godly, in the firm assurance of their eternal reward. It is one of the reasons why God temporally rewardeth the unsound obedience of natural, carnal, and unregenerate men, even to give His faithful servants undoubted assurance that He will in no wise forget their true and sound and sincere obedience. Doth God reward Ahab's temporal humiliation? and will He not much more reward thy hearty and unfeigned repentance? Have the hypocrites their reward,[1] and canst thou doubt of thine? This was the very ground of

§. 29. 3°. against Doubtings of their eternal reward.

* 'the rich glutton.' In the third Sermon ad Aulam, §. 15, Sanderson has again used this expression, which was brought into the heading of the sixteenth chapter of St. Luke in the Authorized Version from the Vulgate, *de divite epulone*, instead of the more correct view given in the Geneva Bible, 'Of the rich man and Lazarus.' Luther has 'the rich glutton' in his Table Talk, §§. 148, 560; but, in his Version, the entire abstract of the contents of St. Luke xvi. is expressed by the words, *Missbrauch des Reichthums*. In Bp. Hall's *Quo Vadis?* §. 7. 'the rich glutton's house at Jerusalem' is mentioned as one of the sights ordinarily seen by Travellers.

[1] Quid dabit eis quos praedestinavit ad vitam, qui haec dedit etiam eis quos praedestinavit ad mortem? Augustin. de Civ. Dei. xxii. 24. [tom. vii. 692. A. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

all that comfort wherewith the Prodigal son sustained his heart and hope, when he thus discoursed to his own soul: If all *the hired servants which are in my father's house have bread enough, and to spare,* surely my father will never be so unmindful of me, who am his son, though too too* unworthy of that name, as to let me *perish for hunger.* Every temporal blessing bestowed upon the wicked ought to be of the child of God entertained as a fresh assurance given him of his everlasting reward hereafter. Abraham gave gifts to the sons of his concubines and sent them away, but his only son Isaac he kept with him, and gave him all that he had. Right so, God giveth temporal gifts to hypocrites and cast-aways, who are *bastards, and not sons,* not sons of the free woman, not sons of promise, not born after the Spirit, and that is their portion; when they have gotten that, they have gotten all they are like to have, there is no more to be looked for at His hands. But as for the inheritance, He reserveth that for His dear children, the godly, who are *born after the Spirit,* and *heirs according unto promise.* On these He bestoweth all that ever He hath: all things are their's, for on them He bestoweth His Son, the heir of all things, in whom are hid all the treasures of all good things, and together with whom all other things are conveyed and made over unto them, as accessories and appurtenances of Him; and on them He bestoweth Himself, who is *All in all, in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore.* To which joy unspeakable and glorious, O Thou, the Father of mercies, who hast promised it unto us, bring us in the end, for Thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ, who hath purchased it for us, and given into our hearts the earnest of His and Thy Holy Spirit to seal it unto us. To which Blessed Son, and Holy Spirit, together with Thee, O Father, three Persons and One only wise, gracious, glorious, almighty, and eternal Lord God, be ascribed by us, and all Thy faithful people throughout the world, the whole kingdom, power, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen, Amen.

S. Luke xv. 17.

Gen. xxv. 5, 6.

Gal. iv. 28, 31.

iv. 29.

iii. 29.

1 Cor. iii. 21.

Heb. i. 2.

Rom. viii. 32.

1 Cor. xv. 28.

Ps. xvi. 11.

* 'too too.' See Sermon i. ad Aulam, §. 5. The Appendix to the Hallamshire Glossary, p. 126, gives 'Tuta,' and p. 162, 'Too-to,' often used to denote *exceeding.* 'From A. S. *to,* which sometimes signified excess. Sometimes they say too-to, too-to; and when they have a mind to shew that a thing is superlatively singular, they say too-to, too-to, too-to; thus expressing the three different degrees of comparison.'

SERMON II.

AT GRANTHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE, FEBR. 27, 1620–1.

I KINGS XXI. 29.

—— *because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days.*

§. 1. A Repetition of three former Observations.

I WILL not so far either distrust your memories, or straiten myself of time for the delivery of what I am now purposed to speak, as to make any large repetition of the particulars which were observed the last time from the consideration of Ahab's person and condition, who was but an hypocrite, taken jointly with his present carriage, together with the occasion and success thereof. He was humbled. It was the voice of God by His Prophet that humbled him. Upon his humbling, God adjourneth his punishment. From all which was noted, First, that there might be even in hypocrites an outward formal humiliation; Secondly, the power and efficacy of the Word of God, able to humble an oppressing Ahab; Thirdly, the boundless mercy of God, in not suffering the outward formal humiliation of an ungodly hypocrite to pass altogether unrewarded. All this the last time, by occasion of those first clauses in the verse, *Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days.* We are now, next, to consider of the great favour which it pleased God to show to Ahab upon his humiliation, what it was, and wherein it consisted. It was the removal, at least for a time, that is, the suspension of an heavy judgment denounced against Ahab and his house most deservedly for his bloody and execrable oppression. *Because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days.*

§. 2. The Opening of

2. The evil which God now promiseth He will not bring, *I will not bring the evil in his days,* is that which, in verse 21,

He had threatened He would bring upon Ahab and upon his house: *Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, and will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel; and will make thy house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the provocation wherewith thou hast provoked me to anger, and made Israel to sin.* A great judgment, and an heavy; but the greater the judgment is, when it is deserved and threatened, the greater the mercy is, if it be afterwards forborne, as some of this was. But whatsoever becometh of the judgment, here we see is mercy good store. God, who is *rich in mercy*, and delighteth to be styled *the God of mercies*,[a] and *the Father of mercies*, abundantly manifesteth His mercy in dealing thus graciously with one that deserved it so little. Here is mercy, in but threatening the punishment when He might have inflicted it; and more mercy, in not inflicting the punishment when He had threatened it. Here is mercy, first, in suspending the punishment, *I will not bring the evil;* and mercy again, in suspending it for so long a time, *I will not bring the evil in his days.* Of these two points we shall entreat at this time, and first and principally of the former.

Verses 21, 22.

Eph. ii. 4. Neh. ix. 31. 2 Cor. i. 3.

§. 3. Observation IV. Concerning God's forbearing of threatened Judgments:

3. *I will not bring the evil.* It is no new thing to them that have read the sacred stories with observation, to see God, when men are humbled at His threatenings, to revoke them: ἔθος αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον, saith Chrysostom[b] more than once: this is ever God's manner, when men change their deeds, to change His doom; when they renounce their sins, to recall His sentence; when they repent of the evil they have done against Him, to repent of the evil He had said He would do against them. Search the Scriptures, and say if things run not thus, as in the most ordinary course: God commandeth and man disobeyeth, man disobeyeth and God threateneth, God threateneth and man repenteth, man repenteth and God forbeareth. *Abimelech, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken.* But Abimelech restoreth the Prophet

Jonah iii. 10.

Gen. xx. 3.

[a] *Deus miserationum.*

[b] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. 234 A. ἔθος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ, ἐπειδὴ κήδεται τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, προλέγειν κ. τ. λ.] et alibi saepe. [Compare §. 6.]

his wife untouched, and God spareth him, and he dieth not. Gen. xx. 7. Hezekiah, make thy will, and *put thine house in order, for* Is. xxxviii. *thou shalt die and not live.* But Hezekiah turneth to the 1–5. wall, and prayeth, and weepeth, and God addeth to his days fifteen years. Nineveh, prepare for desolation; for now but Jonah iii. *forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.* But Nineveh 4–10. fasted, and prayed, and repented, and Nineveh stood after that more than forty years twice told. Generally, God never yet threatened any punishment upon person or place but, if they repented, He either withheld it, or deferred it, or abated it, or sweetened it to them, for the most part proportionably to the truth and measure of their repentance, but howsoever always so far forth as in His infinite wisdom He hath thought good. Some way or other, He ever remitted somewhat of that severity and rigor wherein He threatened it.

§. 4. with the Proof

4. A course which God hath in some sort bound Himself unto, and which He often and openly professeth He will hold. Two remarkable testimonies, among sundry other, shall suffice us to have proposed, at this time, for the clear and full evidencing hereof. The one in Jer. xviii. 7, 8. *At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.* The other is Ezek. xxxiii. 14, 15. *When I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right; if the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he hath robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity; he shall surely live, he shall not die.* And every where in the Prophets, after denunciations of judgment follow exhortations to repentance. Which were bootless, if repentance should not either prevent them or adjourn them or lessen them.

§. 5. and Reasons thereof: 1°. from God's proneness to Mercy;

5. You see God both practiseth and professeth this course. Neither of which can seem strange to us, if we duly consider, either His readiness to show mercy, or the true end of His threatenings. We have partly already touched at the greatness of His mercy. To show compassion and to forgive, that is the thing wherein He most of all delighteth; and therefore He doth *arripere ansam*, take all advantage, as it were, and

lay hold on every occasion to do that; but to punish and take vengeance is *opus alienum*, as some expound that in Esay: *His strange work, His strange act*, a thing He taketh no pleasure in. *Vivo, nolo ... As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, &c.* As the bee laboureth busily all the day long, and seeketh to every flower and to every weed for honey, but stingeth not once, unless she be ill provoked, so God bestirreth Himself, and His bowels yearn within Him, to show compassion. *O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? O Judah, how shall I entreat thee? Why will ye die, O ye house of Israel? Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and seek if you can find a man*, but a man, *that I may pardon it.* But vengeance cometh on heavily and unwillingly, and draweth a sigh from Him; *Heu consolabor! Ah, I must*, I see there is no remedy, *I must ease me of mine adversaries, and be avenged of mine enemies. Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the Prophets . . . how oft would I, &c. How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? . . my heart is turned within me; my repentings are kindled together.* So is our God, *slow to anger*, and loath to strike, *Quique dolet, quoties cogitur esse ferox*,[c] but *plenteous in mercy*, as David describeth Him in Psalm ciii. Never was a man truly and inwardly humbled, but God, in the riches of His special mercy, truly pardoned him: never was man so much as but outwardly humbled, as Ahab here, but God, in His common and general mercy, more or less forbare him.

Is. xxviii. 21. Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Hosea vi. 4. Ezek. xviii. 31. and xxxiii. 11. Jer. v. 1. Is. i. 24. S. Matthew xxiii. 37. Hosea xi. 8. Ps. ciii. 8.

§. 6. 2°. from the end of His Threatenings.

6. Secondly, the end of God's threatenings also confirmeth this point. For doth He threaten evil, think ye, because He is resolved to inflict it? Nothing less. Rather, to the contrary, He therefore threateneth it, that we by our repentance may prevent it, and so He may not inflict it. Προλέγει ἃς μέλλει ἐπάγειν τιμωρίας, διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἵνα μὴ ἐπάγῃ,[d] saith St. Chrysostom: He foretelleth what He will bring upon us,

[c] Ovid. ex Ponto. i. 2. [124.]

[d] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. 234. A. ἔθος γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ, ἐπειδὴ κήδεται τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, προλέγειν κ. τ. λ.] Διὰ τῆς ἀπειλῆς, τὸ μὴ παθεῖν τὰ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐπραγματεύετο. Nazianz. [? ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ πληγῇ παιδεύων καὶ τῇ ἀπειλῇ. i. 304 C. Paris. 1778.] Non praedicit, ut veniat, sed ne veniat, [nec quia Deus loquitur, necesse est fieri quod minatur, sed ideo comminatur, ut convertatur ad poenitentiam cui minatur, et non fiat quod futurum est si verba Domini contemnantur.] Hieron. in Ezech. xxxiii. [1–9. tom. v. 395. D. ed. Vallars.]

for this very purpose, that He may not bring it upon us, and warneth, before He striketh, to make us careful to avoid the stroke. In the ancient Roman State and discipline, the manner was, before they made war upon any people, first to send Heralds to proclaim it,[e] *Bellum indicere, ne inferrent,* to the end that if they would make their peace by submission, they might prevent the war; nor so only, but be written also *in albo amicorum,* enrolled as their friends and confederates. So God sendeth His Heralds the Prophets, to threaten vengeance against sinners: not thereby to drive them from hope of mercy, but to draw them to repentance and humiliation, whereby they may not only turn away the vengeance threatened, but also, if they perform them unfeignedly and with upright hearts, interest themselves further in His favour and love. Nor is it to be accounted among the least of God's mercies, when He might in His just displeasure overwhelm us in the very act of our sins,—as Zimri and Cozbi were run through in the very act of filthiness, and as Uzzah, and Ananias and Sapphira, and some few others whom God picked out to show exemplary judgment upon, were strucken dead upon the sudden for their transgressions;—when God might in justice deal with the same rigor against us all, I say, it is not the least of His mercies, that He forbeareth and forewarneth, and foretelleth and threateneth us before He punish, that if we will take any warning,[f] He may do better to us than He hath said, and not bring upon us what He hath threatened.

Num. xxv. 8. 2 Sam. vi. 7. Acts v. 5, 10.

7. A point very useful and comfortable, if it be not derogatory to God's Truth. Let us therefore first clear that, and then proceed to the Uses. If God thus revoke His threatenings, it seemeth He either before meant not what He spake when He threatened, or else after, when He revoketh, repenteth of what He meant: either of which to imagine, far be it from every Christian heart, since the one maketh God a dissembler, the other a changeling:* the one chargeth him with falsehood,

§. 7.

[e] See Dionys. Halic. ii. [72. *πρὸ τῆς Νομᾶ ἀρχῆς οὔπω τὸ τῶν εἰρηνοδικῶν σύστημα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν.*] Liv. 1. Dec. 1. [i. 32.] Cic. de Offic. i. [36.]

[f] Προλέγει, *ἵνα ἡμεῖς μαθόντες, καὶ τῷ φόβῳ σωφρονισθέντες, μεταβάλωμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν, καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις αὐτοῦ ἀκύρους κατασταήσωμεν.* Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. 234. B. ed. Ben.]

* 'changeling,' *fickle, given to change.* As in the Life of the Hon. R. Boyle, p. 20. ed. Birch. 'Some are

the other with lightness. And yet the Scriptures sometimes speak of God, as if He grieved for what He did, or repented of what He spake, or altered what He had purposed; and, for the most part, such like affections are given Him, in such places, as endeavour to set forth to the most life His great mercy and kindness to sinful mankind. We all know we cannot indeed give God any greater glory than the glory of His mercy, yet must know withal, that God is not so needy of means to work out His own glory, as that He should be forced to redeem the glory of His mercy with the forfeiture either of His truth or stedfastness. We are, therefore, to lay this as a firm ground and infallible, that our God is both truly unchangeable, and unchangeably true. *The strength of Israel is not as man, that He should lie, nor as the son of man, that He should repent.* His words are *not Yea and Nay*, neither doth He *use lightness*. But His words are *Yea and Amen;* and Himself *yesterday and to day and the same for ever.* Heaven and earth may pass away, yea, shall pass away; but not the least tittle[g] of God's words shall pass away unfulfilled. *They may wax old as a garment, and as a vesture shall He change them, and they shall be changed, but He is the same, and His years fail not:* neither do His purposes fail, nor His promises fail, nor His threatenings fail, nor any of His words fail. Let Heaven, and earth, and hell, and Angel, and man, and devil, and all change: still, still, *Ego Deus, et non mutor;* God He is the Lord of all, and He changeth not.

Gen. vi. 6. Ps. xcv. 10. Gen. vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 11. Jer. xviii. 8. Amos vii. 3, 6. Jonah iii. 10. Numb. xxiii. 19. 1 Sam. xv. 29. 2 Cor. i. 19, 17. Heb. xiii. 8. S. Matthew xxiv. 35. S. Matthew v. 18. Ps. cii. 26, 27. Mal. iii. 6.

§. 8. How God is said to repent, &c.

8. As for those phrases then of repenting, grieving, &c, which are spoken of God in the Scriptures, that *συγκατάβασις*,[h] whereof St. Chrysostom so often speaketh, salveth them. God speaketh to us, and therefore speaketh as we use to speak, and frameth His language to our dulness,[i] and teacheth us by our own phrases[k] what He would have us learn, as nurses talk

so studiously changeling in that particular, they esteem an opinion as a diurnal, after a day or two scarce worth the keeping.'

[g] *μία κεραία.*

[h] *Διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ταύτῃ ἐχρήσατο τῇ συγκαταβάσει τῆς διηγήσεως.* Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 3. [tom. iv. 16. C. ed. Ben.] *Ἡ θεία γραφὴ, νῦν συγκατιοῦσα τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας.* [ib. 17. B.] So also ib. Hom. 15. [117. E.] and 26. [146. E.] and 60. [578. D.] and in Ps. vi. and passim.

[i] .... pro captu nostro, non pro suo statu. Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugen. lib. v. [cap. 13. col. 456 E. ed. Ben.]

[k] *Τοῖς συντρόφοις ἡμῖν ὀνόμασι τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς διδάσκων.* Chrysost. in Ps. viii. [tom. v. 91. B.]

half syllables, and lisp out broken language to young children.[1] But what is so spoken ἀνθρωποπαθῶς of God, after the manner of men, must yet be understood Θεοπρεπῶς, so as befitteth the majesty and perfection of His divine nature. When He repenteth then, we are not so to conceive it as if God changed His mind,[m] or altered any thing of His everlasting purpose and counsel, either in substance or circumstances: it only importeth, that He now doth not that,[n] which, so far as we could reasonably conjecture by His words, or works, or our deserts, or otherwise, seemed to us to have been His purpose to have done.

§. 9. The Doubt resolved,

9. This for the phrases; but yet the main doubt for the thing itself standeth uncleared. Abimelech and Hezekiah shall die, and yet Abimelech and Hezekiah shall not die: Nineveh shall be destroyed, and yet Nineveh shall not be destroyed: I will bring evil upon Ahab's house, and yet I will not bring it: is not this *Yea and Nay?* is not this a plain contradiction? How is there not here a plain change of God's will? If not for substance, because the things were at length performed, yet at least in circumstance, because they were not performed at those times, and in that manner, as they were threatened and foretold. That wretched miscreant * Vorstius,† instead of untying this knot, cutteth it, who, to

[1] κἂν πρὸς παιδίον φθεγγώμεθα, συμψελλίζομεν· κἂν μυρίακις ὦμεν σοφοὶ, πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου συγκαταβαίνομεν ταπεινότητα. Chrysost. in Ps. vi. [p. 39. E.]

[m] Nec unquam primi consilii Deos poenitet. Seneca, de Benef. vi. 23.

[n] Quod dicit, Poenitentiam agam ego, intelligitur metaphorice dictum; nam homines, quando non implent quod comminati sunt, poenitere videntur. Aquinas, Prim. Qu. xix. art. 7. Ad. Sec.

* 'miscreant,' in its original sense, *misbeliever*.

† Conrad Vorstius, born at Cologne in 1569, having lectured at Basle, Geneva, and Steinfurt, was, in 1610, appointed Professor of Divinity at Leyden, in the place of Arminius, whose disciple he had been. Passages in his *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, and in his *Exegesis Apologetica*, gave such offence to James I, that, after instructing his Ambassador, Sir Ralph Winwood, to remonstrate with the States, and ordering the abovenamed Book to be publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross and in both the Universities, he published, early in 1612, a Declaration against Vorstius in English, French, and Latin. In March of that year, Vorstius was desired to forbear the functions, but allowed to retain the stipend of his Professorship, and retired to Gouda. On the 4th of May, 1619, the Synod of Dort declared him unworthy of the office and title of an orthodox Professor and Doctor of the Reformed Church. And a confirmation of this synodical sentence by the States General, June 27, deprived him of his office, and banished him out of Holland and West Friesland. See the Judgment of the Synod of Dort concerning the Five Points, &c. Lond. 1619. The Ma-

maintain Pelagian* conclusions from blasphemous principles, trembleth not to affirm, *In parte aliqua Divini Decreti fieri*

gistrates of Gouda gave Vorstius, under their common seal, a certificate of his virtuous, modest, and edifying conversation during his residence of more than seven years in their town. In June, 1622, the Duke of Holstein appointed him his chaplain, and gave him the superintendence of the Church and School affairs in his infant city of Frederickstadt; but Vorstius sickened and died at Tonningen on the 29th September, O. S. before he had assumed the charge committed to him.

According to Neal, History of the Puritans, i. 471, he died a professed Socinian; and the declaration of his faith which he made on his deathbed, given by Brandt, History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, iv. 420, Brent's translation, was considered by Bayle to have fully warranted Christopher Sand the younger in giving Vorstius a place in his *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum.*

The following may suffice as a specimen of the language used by K. James: 'Quod miser hic Vorstius Atheismum et haereses, quas jam publicavit, aut inficiatione a se amoverit, aut aequivocatione mollierit, hoc illi forsan apud vos proderit, ne igne luat scelus: (quod genus poenae an quisquam haereticorum magis aliquando meruerit vestrum nunc est judicium) at ut in vestra Republica vivat aut doceat, quicquid demum vel abnegaverit vel defenderit, id quidem flagitiosius est, quam ut vobis in mentem unquam suspicemur venturum.' Protestatio Anti-Vorstiana, in Opp. Jacobi Regis, p. 359. ed. Montacut. 1619, being the year in which this Sermon was preached. The English Divines at Dort were particularly vehement against Vorstius, Brandt, iii. 294; and at home the language of the Sovereign found a ready echo in several quarters. Isaac Casaubon, for example, in his Ephemerides, 16 Kal. Oct. 1611, says: 'Vidi Regem, et de multis rebus prolixe egi cum ipso, maxime de Haeresi Vorstiana, cui vix par audacia et abominatione alia videtur adhuc nata.' Compare Bp. Hall, The Impress of God, Part i. preached in 1611, 'It was a blasphemous, and, methinks, a Vorstian reason which Tostatus brings,' &c.; and again, 'or Conrad Vorstius, his late master, that hath *De Deo* in the front, and atheism and blasphemy in the text.' Also, in his Holy Panegyric, 1613, 'With what zeal did his Majesty fly upon the blasphemous novelties of Vorstius.' Works, fº. pp. 444, 446, 481.

The Declaration of K. James is full of bitterness against Arminius, Bertius, and the Remonstrants generally. And Heylyn, Certamen Epist. 180, attributes this to the fact of that party having put themselves under the patronage of John Olden Barneveldt, 'whom the king looked upon as the professed adversary of the Prince of Orange, his dear confederate and ally, who, on the other side, had made himself the patron and protector of the rigid Calvinists.' Brandt confirms this, iii. 6, and iv. 347. Rapin adds two other 'conjectures.' 'First, as he pretended to be very learned in Divinity, he imagined, that having declared for one of the opinions, he was bound in honour to support it. Secondly, looking upon himself as still Protector of the States, he had a mind to exert his authority on this occasion, and make them to do as he required.'

The Volume intitled, *Praestantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolae Ecclesiasticae et Theologicae.* Amsterd. 1660, contains twenty-one Letters addressed to Vorstius, and the same number written by him at various dates between 1599 and 1621: among the latter, one to Casaubon, in which he implores his good offices with James, dated about a month later than the entry in Casaubon's Diary quoted above. In a letter dated as far back as August 25, 1607, Arminius had pointed out

aliquam mutationem,[o] that there may be some change made in some part of God's decree. An assertion unbeseeming an ingenuous Pagan, and to be for ever abhorred and held accursed by every soul that professeth itself Christian. Admit this once, and let man, yea and the devil too, be true, and only God a liar. Leave we him therefore to the judgment of that great God whom he hath blasphemed, and seek we better satisfaction. That of Aquinas and the Schoolmen is true, but subtle, that God doth sometimes *velle mutationem,*[p] though He doth never *mutare voluntatem;* that though He never changeth His will, yet He sometimes willeth a change. That of Gregory is plainer, and no less true: *Mutat Deus sententiam, non consilium:*[q] God sometimes changeth the sentence which He hath denounced, but never the counsel which He hath decreed. Others, otherwise: divers men conceiving the same answer for substance, in divers and different terms.

§. 10. by understanding ever a clause of Exception:

10. That which is plainest, and giveth fullest satisfaction, and whereinto the answers of Gregory and Aquinas and the rest, as many as have spoken with any truth and pertinency to the point, in the last resolution fall, is briefly this. In the whole course of Scripture, God's threatenings, and so His promises too, have ever a condition annexed unto them in God's purpose, which, though it be not ever, indeed but seldom expressed, yet is it ever included, and so to be understood. All God's promises, how absolutely soever expressed, are made *sub conditione obedientiae,* and all His threatenings, how absolutely soever expressed, *sub conditione impoenitentiae.* And

to Vorstius the unsoundness of his language in reference to the Divinity of Christ.

* 'Pelagian.' In the first three Editions, 'Arminian.' See above, Sermon i. §. 26.

o Vorstius, de Deo. [e. g. p. 305. immutabilis est omnis Dei voluntas, saltem ex hypothesi Decreti jam facti, &c. .... Quod autem voluntas haec saepe mutari debetur, id nullam Dei mutabilitatem ... arguit.]

p Aquinas, Prim. Qu. xix. art. 7. [.... aliud est mutare voluntatem, et aliud est velle aliquarum rerum mutationem. Potest enim aliquis eadem voluntate immobiliter permanente, velle quod nunc fiat hoc, et postea fiat contrarium. Sed tunc voluntas mutaretur, si aliquis inciperet velle quod prius non voluit, vel desineret velle quod voluit.]

q [Omnipotens enim Deus, etsi plerumque mutat sententiam, consilium nunquam. Moral. Lib. xvi. in cap. xxii. B. Job. cap. 4.] Cum exterius mutari videtur sententia, [interius] consilium non mutatur: quia de unaquaque re immutabiliter intus constituitur, quidquid foris mutabiliter agitur. Gregorius, in Moral. [ibid. cap. 27.]

these conditions, viz. of continuing in obedience, in all promises, and of continuing in impenitency, in all threatenings, are to be understood of course, whether they be expressed or not. This is plain from those two famous places before cited, Jer. xviii. and Ezek. xxxiii. *When I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, if the wicked turn from his sin, &c. he shall surely live, he shall not die.*[r] Where Almighty God plainly teacheth us that we ought so to conceive of all His threatenings, be they never so peremptorily set down, as what more peremptory than this, *Thou shalt surely die?* as that He may reserve to Himself a power of revocation in case the parties threatened repent. The examples make it plain. Abimelech shall die for taking Sarah: understand it, unless he restore her. *Forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed:* understand it with this reservation, unless they repent. And so of all the rest.

Jer. xviii. 7, 8. Ezek. xxxiii. 14–16.

§. 11. though sometimes not expressed: because it is, 1°. needless;

11. But why is not that clause expressed then? may some demand. I answer, first, it needeth not: secondly, it booteth not. First, it needeth not. For God, having in Jer. xviii. and Ezek. xxxiii. and elsewhere instructed us in the general, that all His threatenings are to be understood with such clauses and conditions and reservations, it is needless to repeat them in every particular. As amongst Christian men, who acknowledge God's Providence to rule in all things, and to dispose of all actions and events, it is needless in every speech *de futuro contingente* to express this clause, If God will: we will go to such or such a place, or do such or such a thing, if God will: because we readily conceive it, as a clause which either is or should be understood in every such speech, as St. James requireth.* And so in many promises amongst men, this clause, though not expressed, is yet allowed of course, and to common intendment understood, *Rebus sic stantibus*, things standing and continuing as now they are: so as, if a man make a promise absolutely, without expressing that or any other like clause of limitation or exception, if in the interim some such unexpected accident befall as maketh that either he cannot or may not do what he promised, we may not in right reason charge such a man with breach of promise, if he perform not all he promised: because the foresaid clause, though not expressed, is yet pre-

S. James iv. 15.

[r] See Chrysost. Hom. 5. ad Pop. Antioch. fuse et pulchre.

* St. Paul left it to be understood, Titus iii. 12.

sumed to have been intended by the promiser. And that God's threatenings, as *de jure* they ought to be by us when we hear them, so *de facto* they were understood by Him when He made them, with a secret clause of reservation and exception in case of repentance, appeareth by the usual practice of many upon such threatenings, and the use they made of them. The Ninevites, when Jonah preached destruction within forty days without any express clause of repentance, yet understood it so. Else had it been in vain for them to have repented at all, out of an hope of preventing the judgment by their repentance, as their speeches show they did. *For who can tell,* say they, *if God will turn and repent, and turn away from His fierce anger, that we perish not?* The like may be said of Abimelech, Hezekiah, and others; and of Ahab in this place. Jonah iii. 9.

12. Again, as it is sometimes needless, so it is always bootless, to express this clause of repentance in the threatenings of God. The expressing of it can do little good: secure ones will repent never the sooner for it. But it may do much harm: secure ones may thereby put themselves in fairer hope of forbearance, and so linger their repentance till it be too late. Beloved, it is admirable to observe τὰ οἰκονομούμενα τοῦ Θεοῦ, God's gracious courses, which He useth for the calling of men to repentance. In this particularity whereof we now speak, see how His Mercy and Truth are met together, and do most lovingly embrace each other. Where He spareth in the end, it is most certain He ever meant to spare from the beginning;[s] but that His everlasting purpose is part of His secret counsel and unrevealed will, which as we cannot learn, so we may not seek to know, till the event declare it. Now to bring this His secret purpose about, He must work those men to repentance whom He hath thus everlastingly purposed to spare: else His justice should become questionable, in finally sparing the impenitent. Amongst other means to work men to repentance, this is one, to threaten[t] them with such judgments as their §. 12. 2°. bootless. Ps. lxxxv. 10.

[s] Deus perseveravit in proposito suo, misereri volens ab initio. Hieron. in Jon. iii. [10. tom. vi. 422 A. ed. Vallars.]

[t] Εἰ γὰρ μὴ προηνέχθη [ἡ ψῆφος], οὐκ ἂν ἤκουσαν οἱ ἡμαρτηκότες· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἤκουσαν, οὐκ ἂν μετενόησαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ μετενόησαν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεκρούσαντο τὴν τιμωρίαν. Chrysost. Hom. 5. ad Pop. Antioch. [tom. ii. p. 67 E. The clause, εἰ δὲ μὴ μετενόησαν, is not in the Bened. Text.]

sins have deserved, which threatening, the more terrible it is, the more likely it is to be effectual; and the more peremptory it is, the more terrible it is. So then God, to bring those men to repentance whom He meaneth to spare, in His Word and by His messengers, denounceth against them such judgments as their sins have deserved, and as His justice, without their repentance, would bring upon them: denounceth them, I say, absolutely and in a peremptory form, without any express clause of reservation or exception, the more to terrify and affright them, and to cast them down to the deeper acknowledgment of His justice and their own unworthiness, which are yet to be understood conditionally, and interpreted with reservation and exception of repentance.

§. 13. The Inferences,

13. You have heard evidence enough to acquit God's Truth, and do by this time, I doubt not, perceive how, as in all other things, so in the revoking of His threatenings, God's Mercy and His Truth go hand in hand together. Let us now see what profitable Inferences may be raised hence for our use. The sum of all we have said, is but this. God's threatenings are terrible, but yet conditional; and, if He spare to execute them when we are humbled by them, it is a glorious illustration of His mercy, but without the least impeachment of His Truth. Here is something for the distressed, something for the secure, something for all, to learn.

§. 14. of Comfort to the distressed; Is. lxi. 3.

14. First, for the distressed. Consider this, and take comfort, all you that *mourn in Sion*, and groan under the weight of God's heavy displeasure, and the fearful expectation of those bitter curses and judgments which He hath threatened against sin. Why do you spend your strength and spirit in gazing with broad eyes altogether on God's Justice or Truth? Take them off a little, and refresh them by fastening them another while upon His Mercy. Consider not only what He threateneth, but consider withal why He threateneth; it is, that you may repent: and withal how He threateneth; it is, unless you repent. He threateneth to cast down indeed; but unto humiliation, not into despair. He shooteth out His arrows, *even bitter words*, but, as Jonathan's arrows, for warning, not for destruction. Think not, He aimeth so much at thy punishment, when He threateneth. Alas, if that were the thing He

1 Sam. xx. 20, 21.

sought, He could lay on load enough without words.[u] No, it is thy amendment He aimeth at and seeketh therein; and therefore holdeth not His tongue, that, if thou wilt take it for a warning, He may hold His hand. If the father do but threaten the child, when the rod lieth by him, it is very likely he meaneth not to correct him for that time, but only to make him the more careful to obey, and the more fearful to offend, for the time to come. Canst thou gather hope from the chiding of thy earthly father, and wilt thou find no comfort in the chidings and threatenings of thy Heavenly Father? whose bowels of tender compassion to us-ward are so much larger than any earthly parent's can be, by how much Himself, *the Father of spirits*, is greater than those *fathers of our flesh*. Heb. xii. 9. Yea, but who am I, will some disconsolate soul say, that I should make God's threatenings void? or what my repentance, that it should cancel the oracles of Truth, or reverse the sentence of the eternal Judge? Poor distressed soul, that thus disputest against thine own peace, but seest not the while the unfathomed depth of God's Mercy, and the wonderful dispensations of His Truth, know that His threatenings are not made void, or of none effect, when thou by thy repentance stayest the execution of them: yea, rather, then are they of all other times most effectual; for then do they most of all accomplish their proper end, and the thing for which they were intended, in thy amendment. Neither let His Truth make thee despair; but remember that the tenor of all His most peremptory threatenings runneth with an implicit reservation and conditional exception of repentance, which condition if thou on thy part faithfully perform, the judgment shall be turned away, and yet God's Truth no whit impaired. This for the distressed.

15. Now for the secure. Moses, in Deut. xxix., speaketh of a certain *root, that beareth gall and wormwood;* that blesseth itself when God curseth, and standeth unmoved when God threateneth. Here is an axe for that root, to hew it in pieces; and, unless it bring forth better fruit, to cleave it out for the §. 15. of Terror to the secure; Deut. xxix. 18, 19. S. Matthew vii. 19.

[u] ... ὡς εἶγε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. 234 B.] Nemo enim punire desiderans, quod facturus est comminatur. Hieron. in Jon. iii. [10. tom. vi. 422 A. ed. Vallars.]

fire. If there be any sprigs or spurns* of that root here, let them also consider what hath been said, and tremble. Consider this, I say, and tremble, all you that make a mock at God and at His Word, and imagine that all His threatenings are but *bruta fulmina*, empty cracks, and powder without shot, because sundry of them have fallen to the ground, and not done the hurt they made show of. But know, whosoever thou art that thus abusest the Mercy and despisest the Truth of God, that, as His Mercy never did, so His Truth shall never fail. Thou sayest, some of His threatenings have done no harm. I say as much too; and His Mercy be blessed for it. But what is that, to secure thee? If anywhere God's threatenings did no harm, and wrought no destruction, it was there only, where they did good, and wrought repentance. If they have turned thee from thy sins, as they have done some others, there is hope thou mayest turn them away from thee, as some others have done. But if they have done no good upon thee, in working thy repentance, certainly they hang over thee to do thee harm, and to work thy destruction. God's threatenings are in this respect, as all other His words are, sure and stedIs. lv. 11. fast, and such as shall never return void, but accomplish that for which they were sent: if not the one way, then without all doubt the other. If they do not humble thee, they must overwhelm thee: if they work not thy conversion, they will thy ruin. As some strong physic, that either mendeth or endeth the patient, so are these. And therefore when judgments are denounced, resolve quickly, off or on. Here is all the choice that is left thee, either repent, or suffer. There is a generation Deut. xxix. of men, that, as Moses complaineth, *when they hear the words* 19. *of God's curse, bless themselves in their hearts, and say they shall have peace, though they walk in the imagination of their* Rom. ii. 4. *own hearts;* that, as St. Paul complaineth, *despise the riches of His goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not taking knowledge that the goodness of God would lead them to re-*2 S. Pet. iii. *pentance;* that, as St. Peter complaineth, *walk after their own* 3, 4. *lusts*, and scoffingly jest at God's judgments, *saying, Where is*

* 'spurns,' the lateral shoots of the roots of trees. Nares gives an instance from Drayton's Polyolbion, xxii. p. 1104, and points out the use of *spurs* in the same sense by Shakspeare, Tempest, v. 1, and Cymbeline, iv. 2.

the promise of His coming? But let such secure and carnal scoffers be assured, that, howsoever others speed, they shall never go unpunished: whatsoever becometh of God's threatenings against others, certainly they shall fall heavy upon them. They that have taught us their conditions, Moses and Paul and Peter, have taught us also their punishments. Moses telleth such a one, however others are dealt with, that yet *the Lord will not spare him; but the anger of the Lord and His jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in God's book shall light upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under Heaven.* St. Paul telleth such men that, by despising the riches of His goodness and forbearance, they do but *treasure up unto themselves wrath against the* great *day of wrath, and of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.* St. Peter telleth them, howsoever they not only sleep, but even snort in deep security, that yet, *their judgment of long time sleepeth not, and their damnation* οὐ νυστάζει, not so much as slumbereth. Do thou then take heed, whosoever thou art, and whatsoever thou dost, that thou abuse not the Mercy of God; and to divorce it from His Truth is to abuse it. If when God threateneth, thou layest aside His Truth and presumest on His bare Mercy; when He punisheth, take heed He do not cry quittance with thee, by laying aside His Mercy and manifesting His bare Truth. God is patient and merciful. Patience will bear much, Mercy forbear much; but, being scorned, and provoked, and dared, Patience itself turneth furious,[x] and Mercy itself cruel. It is Mercy that threateneth; it is Justice that punisheth. Mercy hath the first turn; and if by Faith and Repentance we lay timely hold of it, we may keep it for ever; and revenging Justice shall have nothing to do with us. But if, careless and secure, we slip the opportunity, and neglect the time of Mercy, the next turn belongeth to Justice, which will render judgment without mercy, to them that forgat God and despised His Mercy. That for the secure.

Deut. xxix. 20.

Rom. ii. 5.

2 S. Pet. ii. 3.

Ps. cxlv. 8.

16. Now, thirdly, and generally, for all. What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. God hath purposely in His threats joined and tempered Mercy and Truth together,

§. 16. of Instruction, to All.

[x] Furor fit laesa saepius patientia. [Publ. Syr. 268.]

that we might take them together, and profit by them together.

Dividat haec si quis, faciunt discreta venenum;
Antidotum sumet, qui sociata bibet:[y]

as he spake of the two poisons. Either of these single, though not through any malignant quality in themselves, God forbid we should think so, yet through the corrupt temperature of our souls, becometh rank and deadly poison to us. Take Mercy without Truth: as a cold poison it benumbeth us, and maketh us stupid with careless security. Take Truth without Mercy: as an hot poison it scaldeth us, and scorcheth us in the flames of restless despair. Take both together, and mix them well: as hot and cold poisons, fitly tempered by the skill of the apothecary, become medicinable, so are God's Mercy and Truth restorative to the soul. The consideration of His Truth humbleth us: without it we would be fearless: the consideration of His Mercy supporteth us: without it we would be hopeless. Truth begetteth fear and repentance: Mercy, faith and hope. And these two, faith and repentance, keep the soul even and upright and steady, as the ballast and sail do the ship; that, for all the rough waves and weather that encountereth her in the troublesome sea of this world,* she miscarrieth not, but arriveth safe and joyful in the haven where she would be. Faith without repentance is not faith, but presumption, like a ship all sail, and no ballast, that tippeth over with every blast. And repentance without faith is not repentance, but despair, like a ship all ballast, and no sail, which sinketh with her own weight. What is it then that we are to do, to turn away God's wrath from us, and to escape the judgments He threateneth against us? Even this: as in His comminations He joineth Mercy and Truth together, so are we, in our humiliations, to join faith and repentance together. His threatenings are true: let us not presume of forbearance, but fear, since He hath threatened, that, unless we repent, He will strike us. Yet His threatenings are but conditional: let us not despair of forbearance, but hope, although He hath threatened, that yet, if we repent, He will spare us. That is the course which the godly, guided by the

* Compare 'the waves of this troublesome world,' in the first Prayer at the Ministration of Baptism.

[y] Ausonius, Epigr. x. [5.]

direction of His Holy Spirit, have ever truly and sincerely held, and found it ever comfortable to assure them of sound peace and reconciliation with God. That is the course which the very hypocrites, from the suggestion of natural conscience, have sometimes offered at, as far as nature, enlightened, but unrenewed, could lead them; and found it effectual, to procure them at the least some forbearance of threatened judgments, or abatement of temporal evils, from God.

§. 17. The Promises of God, how to be understood,

17. Thus have you heard three Uses made of God's Mercy in revoking, joined with His Truth in performing, what He threateneth. One, to cheer up the distressed, that he despair not when God threateneth. Another, to shake up the secure, that he despise not when God threateneth. A third, to quicken up all, that they believe and repent when God threateneth. There is yet another general Use to be made hereof, which, though it be not directly proper to the present argument, yet I cannot willingly pass without a little touching at it; and that is, to instruct us for the understanding of God's promises. For contraries, as promises and threatenings are, being of the like kind and reason either with other, do mutually give and take light either to and from other. God's threatenings are true and stedfast: His promises are so too: *Promisit qui non mentitur Deus, which God that cannot lie hath promised,* saith the Apostle in one place; and in another, *All the promises of God are Yea and Amen;* and where, in a third place, he speaketh of *two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie,* His promise is one of those two. The promises then of God are true, as His threatenings are. Now look on those threatenings again, which we have already found to be true, but withal conditional, and such as must be ever understood with a clause of reservation or exception. It is so also in the promises of God: they are true, but yet conditional; and so they must ever be understood with a conditional clause. The exception there to be understood, is repentance, and the condition here, obedience. What God threateneth to do unto us, absolutely in words, the meaning is, He will do it unless we repent and amend; and what He promiseth to do for us, absolutely in words, the meaning is, He will do it if we believe and obey. And for so much as this clause is to be understood, of course, in all God's promises, we may not charge Him with

Titus i. 2.

2 Cor. i. 20.

Heb. vi. 18.

breach of promise, though, after, He do not really perform that to us which the letter of His promise did import, if we break the condition and obey not.

§. 18. and entertained.

18. Wouldst thou know then, how thou art to entertain God's promises, and with what assurance to expect them? I answer, with a confident and obedient heart. Confident, because He is true that hath promised; obedient, because that is the condition under which He hath promised. Here is a curb then for those men's presumption, who, living in sin, and continuing in disobedience, dare yet lay claim to the good promises of God. If such men ever had any seeming interest in God's promises, the interest they had, they had but by contract and covenant; and that covenant, whether either of the two it was, Law or Gospel, it was conditional. The covenant of the Law, wholly and *a priori* conditional: *Hoc fac et vives, Do this and live;* and the covenant of the Gospel too, after a sort and *a posteriori* conditional: *Crede et vives, Believe and live.* If then they have broken the conditions of both Covenants, and do neither believe nor do what is required, they have, by their unbelief and disobedience, forfeited all that seeming interest they had in those promises. God's promises then, though they be the very main supporters of our Christian faith and hope, to as many of us as whose consciences can witness unto us a sincere desire and endeavour of performing that obedience we have covenanted, yet are they to be embraced even by such of us, with a reverent fear and trembling at our own unworthiness. But as for the unclean, and filthy, and polluted, those swine and dogs, that delight in sin and disobedience and every abomination, they may set their hearts at rest for these matters: they have neither part nor fellowship in any of the sweet promises of God. Let dirty swine wallow in their own filth: these rich pearls are not for them, they are too precious. Let hungry dogs glut themselves with their own vomit: the children's bread is not for them, it is too delicious. Let him that will be filthy, be filthy still: the promises of God are holy things, and belong to none but those that are holy, and desire to be holy still. For ourselves, in a word, let us hope that, a promise being left us, if with faith and obedience and patience we wait for it, we shall in due time receive it; but withal let us fear, as the Apostle exhorteth,

S. Luke x. 28.

S. Matt. vii. 6.

2 S. Pet. ii. 22.

S. Matt. vii. 6.

S. Matt. xv. 26.

Rev. xxii. 11.

lest, a promise being left us, through disobedience or unbelief, *any of us should seem to come short of it.* Heb. iv. 1.

§. 19. The Opening of the

19. Thus much of the former thing proposed, the magnifying of God's Mercy, and the clearing of His Truth in the revocation and suspension of threatened judgments, by occasion of these words, *I will not bring the evil.* There is yet a circumstance remaining of this general part of my Text, which would not be forgotten: it is the extent of time for the suspending of the judgment: *I will not bring the evil in his days.* Something I would speak of it too by your patience: it shall not be much, because the season is sharp, and I have not much sand to spend.* *I will not bring the evil in his days.* The judgment denounced against Ahab's house was in the end executed upon it, as appeareth in the sequel of the story, and especially from those words of Jehu, who was himself the instrument raised up by the Lord, and used for that execution, in 2 Kings x. *Know that there shall fall to the earth nothing of the word of the Lord, which the Lord spake concerning the house of Ahab; for the Lord hath done that which He spake by His servant Elijah.* Which were enough, if there were nothing else to be said, to justify God's Truth in this one particular. That which Ahab gained by his humiliation was only the deferring of it for his time: *I will not bring the evil in his days.* As if God had said, This wretched King hath provoked me, and pulled down a curse from me upon his house, which it were but just to bring upon him and it without further delay: yet, because he made not a scoff at my Prophet, but took my words something to heart, and was humbled by them, he shall not say but I will deal mercifully with him, and beyond his merit. As ill as he deserveth it, I will do him this favour, *I will not bring the evil,* that is determined against his house, *in his days.* 2 Kings x. 10.

§. 20. fifth Observation: that though it be some grief to foresee the Evils to come,

20. The thing I would observe hence is, that, when God hath determined a judgment upon any people, family, or place, it is His great mercy to us, if He do not let us live to see it. It cannot but be a great grief, I say not now to a religious, but even to any soul that hath not quite cast off all natural affection, to forethink and foreknow the future calamities of his

* 'much sand to spend.' Compare Sermon v. ad Aulam, at the end.

country and kindred. Xerxes could not forbear weeping,[z] beholding his huge army that followed him, only to think, that within some few scores of years so many thousands of proper men would be all dead and rotten; and yet that a thing that must needs have happened by the necessity of nature, if no sad accident or common calamity should hasten the accomplishment of it. The declination of a Commonwealth, and the funeral of a Kingdom, foreseen in the general corruption of manners and decay of discipline, the most certain symptoms of a tottering State, have fetched tears from the eyes, and blood from the hearts, of heathen men zealously affected to their country. How much more grief then must it needs be to them that acknowledge the true God, not only to foreknow the extraordinary plagues and miseries and calamities which shall befall their posterity, but also to fore-read in them God's fierce wrath and heavy displeasure and bitter vengeance, against their own sins, and the sins of their posterity. Our blessed Saviour, though Himself without sin, and so no way accessory to the procuring of the evils that should ensue, could not yet but weep over the city of Jerusalem, when He beheld the present security and the future ruin thereof.

S. Luke xix. 41.

§. 21. yet it is some happiness, to be taken away before they come.

21. A grief it is then to know these things shall happen; but some happiness withal, and to be acknowledged as a great favour from God, to be assured that we shall never see them. It is no small mercy in Him, it is no small comfort to us, if either He take us away before His judgments come, or keep His judgments away till we be gone. When God had told Abraham, in Gen. xv, that his seed should be a stranger in a land that was not theirs, meaning Egypt, where they should be kept under and afflicted four hundred years, lest the good Patriarch should have been swallowed up with grief at it, He comforteth him, as with a promise of their glorious deliverance at the last, so with a promise also of prosperity to his own person, and for his own time: *But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and shalt be buried in a good old age*, verse 15. In Esay xxxix, when Hezekiah heard from the mouth of the Prophet Esaiah, that all the treasures in the Lord's house

Gen. xv. 13–15.

Is. xxxix. 6–8.

[z] Herodotus in Polyh. [c. 45.] Val. Max. ix. 13. [Qui mihi specie alienam, revera suam conditionem deplorasse videtur: opum magnitudine, quam altiore animi sensu felicior. Quis enim mediocriter prudens mortalem se natum fleverit?]

should be carried into Babylon, and that his sons whom he should beget should be taken away, and made eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon, he submitted himself, as it became him to do, to the sentence of God, and comforted himself with this, that yet there should be peace and truth in his days, verse 8. In 2 Kings xxii, when Huldah had prophesied of the evil that God would bring upon the city of Jerusalem and the whole land of Judah, in the name of the Lord she pronounceth this as a courtesy from the Lord unto good King Josiah, *Because thy heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself.... Behold therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered unto thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place.* verse last. 2 Kings xxii. 16–20.

22. Indeed, every man should have, and every good man hath, an honest care of posterity; would rejoice to see things settled well for them; would grieve to see things likely to go ill with them. That common speech which was so frequent with Tiberius[a] was monstrous, and not savouring of common humanity,[b] Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί,[c] When I am gone, let Heaven and earth be jumbled again into their old chaos; but he that mended it, with ἐμοῦ γε ζῶντος,[d]—yea, saith he, whilst I live,—seemeth to have renounced all that was man in him. Aristotle hath taught us better, what reason taught him, that *res posterorum pertinent ad defunctos:* the good or evil of those that come after us, doth more than nothing concern us, when we are dead and gone.[e] This is true; but yet *Proximus sum egomet mihi,*[f] though it were the speech of a shark in the Comedy, will bear a good construction. Every man is nearest to himself;[g] and that charity, which looketh abroad, and seeketh not only her own, yet beginneth at home, and seeketh first her own. Whence it is, that a godly man, as he hath just cause to grieve for posterity's sake, if they must feel §. 22. with the Reason;

[a] Dio. lib. 58. [p. 634 A. Hanov. 1666.]

[b] Illa vox scelerata atque inhumana. Cicero de Fin. iii. [64.] Voces magnas et detestabiles. Seneca de Clementia, ii. 2. [William III is charged with something not much short of this by Sir W. Temple. Letters, iii. 284. See Lord Dartmouth, note on Burnet's Own Times, iv. 566. Oxford, 1833.]

[c] Everso juvat orbe mori. Dictum Rufini ap. Claudian. [in Rufin. ii. 19.]

[d] Nero apud Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 38.

[e] Aristot. Eth. Nicom. i. 11.

[f] Terent. Andr. IV. i. [12.]

[g] Φιλεῖ δ' ἑαυτοῦ πλεῖον οὐδεὶς οὐδένα. [Erasmus, Adag. Chil. I. Cent. iii. Parag. 91.]

God's judgments, so he hath good cause to rejoice for his own sake, if he shall escape them; and he is no less to take knowledge of God's Mercy in sparing him, than of His Justice in striking them.

§. 23. and Uses thereof: the first;

23. This point is useful many ways. I will touch but some of them, and that very briefly. First, here is one comfort, among many other, against the bitterness of temporal death. If God cut thee off in the midst of thy days and best of thy strength, if death turn thee pale before age have turned thee grey, if the flower be plucked off before it begin to wither, grudge not at thy lot therein, but meet God's messenger cheerfully, and embrace him thankfully. It may be, God hath some great work in hand, from which He meaneth to save thee. It may be, He sendeth death to thee, as He sent His Angel to Lot, to pluck thee out of the midst of a froward and crooked generation, and to snatch thee away, lest a worse thing than death should happen unto thee. Cast not therefore a longing eye back upon Sodom, neither desire to linger in the plain, it is but a valley of tears and misery, but up to the mountain from whence cometh thy Salvation, lest some evil overtake thee. Possibly that which thou thinkest an untimely death may be to thee a double advantage: a great advantage, in ushering thee so early into God's glorious presence; and some advantage too, in plucking thee so seasonably from God's imminent judgments. It is a favour to be taken away betimes, when evil is determined upon those that are left.[h]

Gen. xix. 16, 17.

§. 24. the second;

24. Secondly, here is a warning for us, to take consideration of the loss of good or useful men, and to fear, when they are going from us, that some evil is coming towards us. The Prophet complaineth of the too great and general neglect hereof in his times; *The righteous perisheth, and no man*

Is. lvii. 1.

[h] Non mehercule, quemquam audivi hoc [gravissimo, pestilentissimo] anno, adolescentulum aut puerum mortuum, qui mihi non a Diis immortalibus ereptus ex his miseriis, et ex iniquissima conditione vitae videretur. Cicero, Epist. ad Fam. v. 16. Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus, sed ii tamen Rempublicam casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta L. Crasso a Diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, &c. Id. iii. de Orat. [8.] Fortunatus illius (Hortensii) exitus, qui ea non vidit cum fierent, quae praevidit futura..... Sed illum videtur felicitas ipsius, qua semper est usus, ab eis miseriis, quae consecutae sunt, morte vindicasse. Id. in Bruto. [329.]

layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. When God sendeth His Angel to pluck out His righteous Lots, what may Sodom expect but fire and brimstone to be rained down upon them? When He plucketh up the fairest and choicest flowers in His garden, and croppeth off the tops of the goodliest poppies,* who can think other than that He meaneth to lay His garden waste, and to turn it into a wild wilderness? when He undermineth the main pillars of the house, taketh away the very props and buttresses of Church and Commonweal, sweepeth away religious Princes, wise senators, zealous Magistrates, painful Ministers, men of eminent rank, gifts, or example,†—who can be secure, that either Church or Commonweal shall stand up long,[i] and not totter at least, if not fall? God, in mercy, taketh such away from the evil to come. We, in wisdom, should look for evil to come, when God taketh such away. Gen. xix. 16.

25. Thirdly, here is instruction for worldlings, to make much of those few godly ones that live among them; for they are the very pawns of their peace, and the pledges of their security. Think not, ye filthy Sodomites, it is for your own sakes, that ye have been spared so long: know to whom you are beholden. *This fellow that came in to sojourn* among you, this stranger, this Lot, whom you so hate, and malign, and disquiet, he it is that hath bailed you hitherto, and given you §. 25. the third. Gen. xix. 9.

* Summa papaverum capita. Livy, i. 54.

† Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I, had died March 1, 1619. Overall, Bp. of Norwich, May 12, 1619. Richard Kilbye, Rector of Lincoln College, to whose care Sanderson had been confided by his father, previously to his very early matriculation, died early in November, 1620. And on the second of that month the battle of Prague was fought, in consequence of which the Elector Palatine was forced to take refuge in Holland; and the House of Commons assured the King of their fellow-feeling with the sad state of his children abroad, 'and the generally afflicted estate of the true Professors of the same Christian Religion professed by the Church of England, in foreign parts,' and of their readiness to assist him to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and fortunes, if negotiation was ineffectual. At the time of the preaching of this Sermon, John King, Bp. of London, at whose hands Sanderson had received both Deacon's and Priest's Orders, was languishing of the disease of which he died, March 30. And the proceedings had commenced against Lord Bacon, which ended in his disgrace May 3, 1621.

[i] Periturae urbis, aut malorum imminentium, vel futurae labis, hoc primum indicium est, si decedant viri consultiores, [vel etiam graviores foeminae.] Ambrosius de Cain et Abel, [ii.] c. 3. [tom. i. col. 211 F. ed. Bened.]

protection. Despise not God's patience and long suffering, ye profane ones, neither bless yourselves in your ungodly ways, neither say, We prosper, though we walk in the lusts of our hearts. This and thus we have done, and nothing hath been done to us: God holdeth His hand, and holdeth His tongue at
Ps. l. 21. us: surely He is such a one as ourselves. Learn, O ye despisers, that if God thus forbear you, it is not at all for your own sakes, or because He careth not to punish evil doers. No,
S. Luke xii. 32. He hath a little remnant, a little flock, a little handful of His
Rev. iii. 4. own among you, a few names that have given themselves unto Him, and call upon Him daily for mercy upon the land, and
Ezek. ix. 4. that weep and mourn in secret and upon their beds for your abominations; whom you hate, and despise, and persecute, and defame, and account as the very scum of the people, and the refuse and offscouring of all things; to whom yet you owe your preservation. Surely, if it were not for some godly Je-
2 Kings iii. 14. hoshaphat or other, whose presence God regardeth among you; if it were not for some zealous Moses or other that stand-
Ps. cvi. 23. eth in the gap for you, God's wrath had entered in upon you long ere this, as a mighty breach of water, and as an overflowing deluge overwhelmed you, and you had been swept
Is. xiv. 23. away as with *the besom of destruction*, and devoured as stubble
Job xxii. 30. before the fire. It is *the innocent that delivereth the land*,* and reprieveth it from destruction, when the sentence of desolation is pronounced against it; *and it is delivered by the pureness of his hands.* O the goodness of our God! that would have spared the five cities of the Salt Sea, if among so many thousands of beastly and filthy persons there had been
Gen. xviii. 32. found but *ten righteous* ones. And that was, for each city, but two persons. Nay, that would have pardoned Jerusalem,
Jer. v. 1. if in all the streets and broad places thereof, replenished with a world of idolaters, and swearers, and adulterers, and oppressors, there had been found but one single man, that executed judgment, and sought the truth from his heart. But O the madness of the men of this foolish world withal! who seek to do them most mischief of all others, who of all others seek to do them most good, thirsting most after their destruc-

* In the Bishops' Bible this verse stands: *The innocent shall deliver the Island: it shall be delivered by the pureness of thine hands.* So, also, in the Geneva Bible: *and it shall be delivered &c.*

tion, who are the chiefest instruments of their preservation. Oh foolish and mad world! if thou hadst but wit enough, yet, yet to hug and to make much of that little flock, the hostages of thy peace, and the earnest of thy tranquillity! if thou wouldst but know, *even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace!* Thou art yet happy, that God hath a remnant in thee; and if thou knewest how to make use of this happiness, *at least in this thy day,* by honouring their persons, by procuring their safety and welfare, by following their examples, by praying for their continuance, thou mightest be still, and more, and ever happy. But if these things, that belong unto thy peace, *be now hidden from thine eyes;* if these men, that prolong thy peace, and prorogue thy destruction, be now despised in thy heart, in this day of thy peace, God is just: thou knowest not how soon they may be taken from thee; and, though He do not bring the evil upon thee in their days, when they are gone, thou knowest not how soon vengeance may overtake thee; and *and then shall He tear thee in pieces, and there shall be none* left *to deliver thee.*

S. Luke xix. 42.

Ps. l. 22.

26. I have now done. Beseech we God, the Father of mercies, for His dear Son Jesus Christ His sake, to shed His Holy Spirit into our hearts, that, by His good blessing upon us, that which hath been presently* delivered, agreeably to His holy Truth and Word, may take root downwards in our hearts, and bring forth fruit upwards in our lives and conversations; and so to assist us ever with His grace, that we may with humble confidence lay hold on His mercies, with cheerful reverence tremble at His judgments, by unfeigned repentance turn from us what He hath threatened, and by unwearied obedience assure unto us what He hath promised. To which Holy Father, Son, and Spirit, three Persons, and &c.

§. 26. The Conclusion.

* 'presently,' *at this present.* See Sermon ii. ad Aulam, §. 28.

SERMON III.

AT GRANTHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE, JUNE 19, 1621.

I KINGS XXI. 29.

—— *I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.*

§. 1. The Doubts proposed.

I COME now, this third time, to entreat of this Scripture, and, by God's help, to finish it. Of the three parts whereof, heretofore propounded, viz. 1°. Ahab's Humiliation; 2°. The Suspension of his judgment for his time;* 3°. And the Devolution of it upon Jehoram, the two former having been already handled, the last only now remaineth to be considered of. In the prosecution whereof, as heretofore we have cleared God's Holiness and Truth, so we shall be now occasioned to clear His Justice, from such imputations as might seem to lie upon it from this act. And that in three respects, accordingly as Jehoram, who standeth here punishable for Ahab's sin, may be considered in a threefold reference to Ahab: that is to say, either *relate*, as the son of Ahab; or *disparate*, as another man from Ahab; or *comparate*, as a man not altogether so bad as Ahab. Now what justice, first, to punish the son for the father? or indeed, secondly, any one man for another? but most of all, thirdly, the less offender for the greater?[a]

2 Kings iii. 2.

§. 2. For resolution whereof

2. It is not a matter of so much difficulty, as at the first appearance it seemeth, to clear these doubts, if all things thereto appertaining be duly and distinctly considered. The greatest trouble will be, the things being of more variety than hardness, to sort them in such manner as that we may therein

* 'for his time.' So in the fourth Edition, 1657. Previously, 'for life.'

[a] Quisquam est hominum, qui fuisse illum [Jovem] Deum credat, tam injustum, tam impium, nec mortalium saltem constituta servantem; apud quos nefas haberetur magnum, alterum pro altero plecti, et aliena delicta aliorum cervicibus vindicari? [vindicare? in Hildebrand's edition.] Arnobius, contra Gentes, vii. [43.]

proceed orderly and without confusion. Evermore, we know, certainties must rule uncertainties, and clear truths, doubtful. It will be therefore expedient for us, for the better guiding of our judgments, first, to lay down some certainties; and then, afterwards, by them to measure out fit resolutions to the doubts; and then, lastly, from the premisses to raise some few instructions for our use.

3. The first Certainty then, and a main one, is this. How- §. 3. the first Certainty. soever things appear to us, yet God neither is, nor can be unjust, as not in any other thing, so neither in His punishments. *Is God unrighteous, that taketh vengeance? God* Rom. iii. 5, 6. *forbid: for then how shall God judge the world? Shall not* Gen. xviii. *the Judge of all the earth do right?* Indeed the reasons of 25. His Justice oftentimes may be, oftentimes are unknown to us; but they never are, they never can be unrighteous in Him. If, in a deep point of Law, a learned, discreet Judge should upon sufficient grounds give sentence flat contrary to what an ordinary bystander would think reason, as many times it falleth out, it is not for the grieved party to complain of injustice done him: he should rather impute what is done, to want of skill in himself, than of conscience in the Judge. Right so, if in many things God's proceedings hold not proportion with those characters of Justice and Equity which our weak and carnal reason would express, we must thence infer our own ignorance, not His injustice. [And that so much the rather, because those matters of Law are such as fall within the comprehension of ordinary reason, whereas the ways of God are far removed out of our sight, and advanced above our reach; and, besides, an earthly Judge is subject to misprision, misinformation, partiality, corruption, and sundry infirmities that may vitiate his proceedings, whereas no such thing can possibly fall upon the Divine Nature. David hath taught us in the Psalm, that *the righteousness of God is as the great moun-* Ps. xxxvi. 6. *tains, and His judgments as the great deep.* A great mountain is eath* to be seen: a man that will but open his eyes cannot overlook it. But who can see into the bottom of the sea, or find out what is done in the depths thereof?] Whatsoever we do then, let us beware we measure not His ways by

* 'eath,' *easy*: sometimes written *ethe*. 'Each thing imparted is more eath to bear.' Spenser, Shepherd's Calendar, September 17.

Is. lv. 8, 9. our ways, nor His works by our works. Howsoever they seem to swerve from the rules of our ways and works, yet still
Ps. cxlv. 17. *the Lord is righteous in all His ways, and holy in all His works.* [Though we cannot fathom the deeps of His judg-
S. John iv. 11. ments, for *the well is deep,* and we have not wherewithal to draw, yet let the assurance of the righteousness of all His proceedings stand firm and manifest as the mountains, which can neither be removed nor hid, but stand fast-rooted for evermore.] This we must rest upon as a certain truth: howsoever, whomsoever, whensoever, God punisheth, He is never unjust.

§. 4. The second Certainty; concerning temporal

4. The second Certainty. To speak of punishments properly, no temporal evil is simply and *de toto genere* a punishment. By temporal evils, I understand all the penal evils of this life, that do or may befall us from our bodily conception to our bodily deaths *inclusive;* hunger, cold, nakedness, sicknesses, infirmities, discontents, reproaches, poverty, imprisonments, losses, crosses, distresses, death, and the rest: in a
Eccl. i. 13. word, all that *sore travail which God hath given to the sons*
Ecclus. xl. 1. *of man, to be exercised therewith,* and that *heavy yoke which is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things.* I say none of all these are properly and *de toto genere* to be accounted punishments. For to make a thing simply and properly and formally a punishment, there are required these three conditions: first, that it be painful, and grievous to suffer; secondly, that it be inflicted for some fault; thirdly, that it be involuntary, and against the sufferer's will. That which hath but the first of these three conditions, may be called, after a sort, and truly too, *Malum poenae,* a kind of punishment. But κυρίως, and properly, that evil only is a punishment, wherein the whole three conditions concur. Now these temporal evils, though they have the two first conditions, all of them being grievous to suffer, all of them being inflicted for sin, yet in the third condition they fail, because they are not involuntary simply, and perpetually, and *de suo genere* involuntary. To omit also a kind of failing in the second condition: not but that they are ever inflicted for some sin deserving them, but for that there are withal other ends and reasons for which they are inflicted, and

whereunto they are intended, besides and above the punishment of the offence; it may not be gainsaid indeed, but these things are involuntary sometimes in the particular, and especially to some men, even the least of them; but simply and universally such they are not, since by other some men, the greatest of them are willingly and cheerfully, not only suffered, but desired. Not but that they are grievous to the best. It must needs be some grief, as to the merchant to see his rich lading cast overboard, and to the patient to have an old festered sore searched and singed, so to the Christian, to have God's correcting hand lie heavy upon him in some temporal affliction. The Apostle telleth us plainly, *No affliction* Heb. xii. *for the present is joyous, but grievous.* But involuntary it is 11. no more in him, than those other things are in them. As therefore the merchant, though it pity his heart to see so much wealth irrecoverably lost, yet getteth the best help, and useth the best speed he can to empty the vessel of them, for the saving of his life; and as the patient, though he smart when the wound is dressed,[b] yet thanketh and feeth the surgeon for his pains, in hope of future ease, so the Christian, though these temporal evils somewhat trouble him, yet he is willing to them, and he is cheerful under them, and he acknowledgeth God's goodness in them, and returneth Him thanks for them, because he knoweth they are sent for his future good, and that they will at the last yield him *the* Ibid. *peaceable fruit of righteousness*, when he shall have been sufficiently exercised thereby. See Peter and John rejoicing, Acts v. 41. when they suffered for the name of Jesus, and St. Paul so far from fearing, that he longed after his dissolution, and the Phil. i. 23. blessed Martyrs running to a faggot, as to a feast. Verily, God's children see great good in these things which others account evils; and therefore they take them not as bare punishments sent to afflict them, but as glorious trials to exercise them, as gracious corrections to humble them, as precious receipts to purge, and recover, and restore, and strengthen them.

[b] Et est plane quasi saevitia medicinae, de scalpello, deque cauterio, de sinapis incendio: non tamen secari, et inuri, et extendi, idcirco malum, quia dolores utiles adfert... Ululans ille, et gemens et mugiens inter manus medici, postmodum easdem mercede cumulabit, et artifices optimas praedicabit, et saevas jam negabit. Tertull. Scorp. 5.

§. 5. and eternal Punishments.

5. So that it is not any of the temporal evils of this life, but much rather the everlasting pains of hell, wherein the just reward and punishment of sin properly and especially consisteth. *The wages of sin is death:* the proper wages of sin eternal death. For so the Antithesis in that place giveth it to be understood, viz. of such a death as is opposed to eternal life, and that is eternal death: *The wages of sin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life.* By the distribution of those eternal punishments then, we are rather to judge of God's righteousness in recompensing sinners, than by the dispensation of these temporal evils. It was a stumblingblock to the heathen,[c] to see good men oppressed and vice prosper. It made them doubt: some, whether there were a God, or no: others nothing better, whether a Providence, or no. But what marvel if they stumbled, who had no right knowledge either of God or of His Providence, when Job, and David, and other the dear children of God, have been much puzzled with it? David confesseth that his *feet had wellnigh slipped,** when he saw the prosperity of the wicked; and certainly down he had been, had he not happily stepped into the Sanctuary of God, and there understood the end of these men. Temporal evils, though they be sometimes punishments of sin, yet they are not ever sent as punishments, because sometimes they have other ends and uses, and are *ordinabilia in melius;* and secondly, they are never the only punishments of sin, because there are greater and more lasting punishments reserved for sinners after this life, of which there is no other use or end, but to punish, since they are not *ordinabilia in melius.* If we will make these

Rom. vi. 23.

Ps. lxxiii. 2. Ibid. 17.

[c] Θεοῦ δ' ὄνειδος τοὺς κακοὺς εὐδαιμονεῖν. [Gruter, Florilegium, i. 229.]

Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo.
Pompeius nullo: Credimus esse Deos?
[Saxa premunt Licinum, levat altum fama Catonem,
Pompeium tituli: credimus esse Deos.]

Varro. [Antholog. Lat. Burmann. ii. Epigr. 37.] See Plato de Leg. [x. 10. one sentence remarkably parallel to Job xxi. 7, 8. ἀνοσίους ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἐλθόντας γηραιούς, παῖδας παίδων καταλιπόντας ἐν τιμαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις.] Cicero de Nat. Deor. [iii. 32–39.] Seneca de Provid. [sive Quare bonis viris mala accidunt cum sit Providentia.] August. de Lib. Arb. iii. 2. [tom. i. 611 E, F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1679.] Menander, ap. Stob. Serm. 104. [106. 8. Gaisford.]

* Sanderson must have preferred to follow the marginal rendering of the Title, A Psalm *for* Asaph. By some the Seventy-third Psalm has been assigned to the times of Hezekiah; but Hengstenberg allows that it contains nothing against the supposition that the Asaph, named in the Title as the author, was David's chief musician.

temporal evils the measure whereby to judge of the Justice of God, we cannot secure ourselves from erring dangerously: God's purposes, in the dispensation of these unto particular men, being unsearchable. But those everlasting punishments are they wherein God's Justice shall be manifested to every eye, in due time, at that Last Day which is therefore called by St. Paul, *the day of wrath and of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.* Implying, that howsoever God is just in all His Judgments and acts of Providence, even upon earth, yet the counsels and purposes of God in these things are often secret, and *past finding out;* but, at the last great Day, when *He shall render to every man according to his works* His everlasting recompence, then His vengeance shall manifest His wrath, and the righteousness of His judgment shall be revealed to every eye in the condign punishment of unreconciled sinners. That is the second Certainty. Temporal evils are not always, nor simply, nor properly, the punishments for sin.

Rom. ii. 5.

Ibid. 6.

§. 6. The third Certainty: that all Evils of Pain,

6. If any man shall be yet unsatisfied, and desire to have God's Justice somewhat further cleared, even in the disposing of these temporal things, although it be neither safe nor possible for us to search far into particulars, yet some general satisfaction we may have from a third Certainty; and that is this. Every evil of pain, whatsoever it be, or howsoever considered, which is brought upon any man, is brought upon him evermore for sin, yea, and that also for his own personal sin. Every branch of this assertion would be well marked. I say, first, every evil of pain, whatsoever it be, whether natural defects and infirmities in soul or body, or outward afflictions in goods, friends, or good name, whether inward distresses of an afflicted, or terrors of an affrighted conscience, whether temporal or eternal death, whether evils of this life, or after it, or whatsoever other evil it be that is any way grievous to any man, every such evil is for sin.

§. 7. howsoever considered,

7. I say, secondly, every evil of pain, howsoever considered, whether formally, and *sub ratione poenae,* as the proper effect of God's vengeance and wrath against sin; or as a fatherly correction and chastisement, to nurture us from * some past

* 'nurture us from,' 'nurture us for' in the first Edition, viz. 1627.

Compare Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 11.

sin; or as a medicinal preservative, to strengthen us against some future sin; or as a clogging chain to keep under and disable us from some outward work of sin; or as a fit matter and object whereon to exercise our Christian graces of faith, charity, patience, humility, and the rest; or as an occasion given and taken by Almighty God, for the greater manifestation of the glory of His Wisdom, and Power, and Goodness, in the removal of it; or as an act of exemplary justice, for the admonition and terror of others; or for whatsoever other end, purpose, or respect it be inflicted.

§. 8. are for the Sin.

8. I say, thirdly, every such evil of pain, is brought upon us for sin. There may be other ends, there may be other occasions, there may be other uses of such evils; but still the original cause of them all is sin. *When Thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sin.* It was not for any extraordinary notorious sins, either of the blind man himself, or of his parents, above other men, that he was born blind. Our Saviour Christ acquitteth them of that, in answer to His Disciples, who were but too forward, as God knoweth most men are, to judge the worst. Our Saviour's answer there never intended other, but that still the true cause deserving that blindness was his and his parents' sin; but His purpose was to instruct His Disciples, that that infirmity was not laid upon him rather than upon another man, merely for that reason, because he or his parents had deserved it more than other men; but that for some further ends which God had in it in His secret and everlasting purpose, and, namely,* this among the rest, that the works of God might be manifest in him, and the Godhead of the Son made glorious in his miraculous cure. As in Nature, the intention of the end doth not overthrow, but rather suppose the necessity of the matter,[d] so is it in the works of God, and the dispensations of His wonderful Providence. It is from God's Mercy, ordering them to those ends He hath purposed, that His punishments are good; but it is withal from our sins, deserving them as the cause, that they are just. Even as the rain that falleth upon the earth, whether it moisten it kindly, and make it fruitful, or whether it choke and slocken† and

Ps. xxxix. 11.

S. John ix. 2, 3.

* 'namely,' *especially*. Compare Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 27.

[d] See Aristot. ii. Phys. Auscult. capp. 8, 9.

† 'slocken' is explained by Mr. Halliwell, as a Lincolnshire word,

drown it, yet still had its beginnings from the vapours which the earth itself sent up. All those evils which fall so daily and thick upon us from Heaven, whether to warn us or to plague us, are but arrows which ourselves first shot up against Heaven, and now drop down again with doubled force upon our heads. *Omnis poena propter culpam:* all evils of pain are for the evils of sin.

§. 9. of the Sufferer.

9. I say, fourthly, all such evils are for our own sins. The Scriptures are plain. *God judgeth every man according to his own works. Every man shall bear his own burden, &c.* God hath enjoined it as a law for Magistrates, wherein they have also His example to lead them, that *not the fathers for the children, nor the children for the fathers, but every man should be put to death for his own sin.* If Israel take up a proverb of their own heads, *The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,* they do it without cause, and they are checked for it. *The soul that sinneth, it shall die: and if any man eat sour grapes, his own teeth,* and not another's for him, *shall be set on edge* thereby. For indeed, how can it be otherwise? or who can reasonably think, that our most gracious God, who is so ready to take from us the guilt of our own, should yet lay upon us the guilt of other men's sins? The only exception to be made in this kind is that alone satisfactory punishment of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, not at all for His own sins, far be the impiety from us so to imagine, for *He did no sin, neither was there any guile found in His mouth;* but for ours. He payed that which He never took:[e] it was for our transgressions that He was wounded; *and the chastisement of our peace was* laid *upon Him.* Yet even those meritorious sufferings of His may be said, in a qualified sense, to have been for His own sins: although, in my judgment, it be far better to abstain from such like speeches as are of ill and suspicious sound, though they may be in some sort defended. But how for His own sins? His own by commission? By no means. God forbid any

1 S. Pet. i. 17. Gal. vi. 5. Deut. xxiv. 16. Ezek. xviii. 2, &c. Jer. xxxi. 29. 1 S. Pet. ii. 22. Ps. lxix. 4.

to slake or quench: also, to suffocate in mud; and, perhaps, at times, to drown, simply. Lye, add. to Junius, explains 'slocken' by *slake.* Jamieson gives examples of the use of *slokin* in the sense of 'to quench;' 'to allay thirst;' to 'assuage the heat of passion.'

[e] Non rapui et exsolvebam: non peccavi et poenas dabam. Augustin. [in Ps. lxviii. tom. iv. 695 F. ed. Paris. 1681.]

man should teach, any man should conceive so: the least thought of this were blasphemy; but His own by imputation. Not that He had sinned, and so deserved punishment, but that
Is. liii. 5. He had taken upon Him our sins,[f] which deserved that punishment. As he that undertaketh for another man's debt maketh it his own, and standeth chargeable with it as if it were his own personal debt, so Christ, becoming surety for our sins, made them His own,[g] and so was punishable for them, as if they had
1 S. Pet. ii. 24. been His own personal sins: *who His own self bare our sins in His own body upon the tree.* That He was punished for us
2 Cor. v. 21. who Himself deserved no punishment, it was, because *He was made sin for us who Himself knew no sin.* So that I say, in some sense the assertion may be defended universally, and without exception; but yet I desire rather it might be thus, Christ's only excepted, all the pains and evils of men are brought upon them for their own sins.

§. 10. The Fathers' Sins punished in their Children.

10. These three points then are certain; and it is needful they should be well understood and remembered, because nothing can be objected against God's Justice, in the punishing of sin, which may not be easily removed, if we have recourse to some one or other of these three Certainties, and rightly apply them. All the three doubts proposed in the beginning have one and the same resolution: answer one, and answer all. Ahab here sinneth by oppression; and yet the evil must light, though not all of it,—for some part of it fell, and was performed upon Ahab himself,—yet the main of it upon his son Jehoram. *I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.* It is not Jehoram's case alone: it is a thing that often hath, and daily doth befall many others. In Genesis ix, when Noah's ungracious son Ham had discovered his father's nakedness, the old man, no doubt by God's special inspiration, layeth the curse not upon Ham
Gen. ix. 25. himself, but upon his son Canaan, *Cursed be Canaan, &c.* And God ratified the curse, by rooting out the posterity of Canaan, first out of the pleasant land wherein they were seated, and then afterwards from the face of the whole earth.

[f] ... delictorum susceptor, sed non commissor. Augustin. ibid. [696 F.]

[g] Delicta nostra sua delicta fecit, ut justitiam suam nostram justitiam faceret. Augustin. Enarr. 2. in Ps. xxi. [tom. iv. 95 C.]

Jeroboam's idolatry cut off his posterity from the Kingdom, and the wickedness of Eli his sons, theirs from the Priesthood of Israel. Gehazi, with the bribe he took, purchased a leprosy in fee-simple to him and his heirs for ever. The Jews, for stoning the Prophets of God, but most of all for crucifying the Son of God, brought bloodguiltiness, not only upon themselves, but upon their children also: *His blood be upon us, and upon our children.* The wrath of God therefore coming upon them to the utmost, and the curse of God abiding upon their posterity even unto this day: wherein they still remain, and God knoweth how long they shall, a base and despised people, scattered almost every where, and every where hated. Instances might be endless, both in private persons and families, and in whole Kingdoms and Countries. But it is a needless labour to multiply instances in so confessed a point, especially God Almighty having thus far declared Himself and His pleasure herein in the second commandment of the Law, that He will not spare in His jealousy sometimes to visit *the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation.*

1 Kings xv. 29, 30. 1 Sam. ii. 33–36. 2 Kings v. 27. S. Matthew xxvii. 25. 1 Thess. ii. 16. Exod. xx. 5.

§. 11. and how this may stand with the Justice of God.

11. There is no question then *de facto*, but so it is: the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. But *de jure*, with what right and equity it is so, it is, as St. Chrysostom speaketh, ζήτημα [τὸ] πολυθρύλλητον [ἐκεῖνο] καὶ πανταχοῦ περιφερόμενον, a question famous, and much debated.[h] The considerations which I find given in for the resolution of this question, by those that have purposely handled it,[i] are very many. But multitude breedeth confusion; and therefore I propose no more but two only, unto which so many of the rest as are material may be reduced; and those two grounded upon the certainties already declared. The former concerneth the nature of those punishments which are inflicted upon the children for the fathers' sins; the latter, the condition of those children upon whom such punishments are inflicted.

[h] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 28. [tom. iv. p. 275 B. ed. Ben.]

[i] Augustin. Quaest. in Deut. 42. [tom. iii. 570 E. ed. Ben. Paris. 1680.] Theophylact. in S. Johan. ix. Pererius in Gen. [ix. 25. lib.] xiv. Disp. 4. Aquinas, Prim. Sec. Quaest. 87. art. 8. Sasb. Quodlibet 3. [Adam Sasbout, born at Delft, in 1516, died at Louvain, where he had been a Professor of Divinity, in 1553. Sanderson's reference is to the Oratio Quodlibetica, Quaest. 3. p. 690, of the edition of his Works printed at Cologne, 1575.]

§. 12. Consideration I. Such Punishments are only temporal, not spiritual.

12. As to the first, the punishments which God bringeth usually upon the children for the fathers' sins, are only temporal and outward punishments. Some have been plagued with infectious diseases, as Gehazi's posterity; and Joab's also, if that curse which David pronounced against him took effect, as it is like it did. Some have come to untimely and uncomfortable ends, as David's children, Amnon and Absalom; and the little ones of Dathan and Abiram and others. Some have had losses, and reproaches, and manifold other distresses and afflictions in sundry kinds, too long to rehearse. And all these temporal judgments their fathers' sin might bring upon them: even as the faith, and virtues, and other graces of the fathers do sometimes convey temporal blessings to their posterity. So Jerusalem was saved in the siege by Sennacherib, for David's sake, many years after his death. And the succession of the crown of Israel continued in the line of Jehu for four descents, for the zeal that he showed against the worshippers of Baal and the house of Ahab. So then, men may fare the better, and so they may fare the worse too, for the virtues or vices of their ancestors. Outwardly and temporally they may, but spiritually and eternally they cannot. For as never yet any man went to Heaven for his father's goodness, so neither to Hell for his father's wickedness.

2 Kings v. 27. 2 Sam. iii. 29. xiii. 29. xviii. 15. Numb. xvi. 27, 33. Is. xxxvii. 35. 2 Kings x. 30.

§. 13. An Objection; with the first, Amos viii. 11.

13. If it be objected, that for any people or person to suffer a famine of the Word of God, to be deprived of the use and benefit of the sacred and saving ordinances of God, to be left in utter darkness without the least glimpse of the glorious light of the Gospel of God, without which, ordinarily, there can be no knowledge of Christ, nor means of Faith, nor possibility of Salvation; to be thus visited, is more than a temporal punishment; and yet this kind of spiritual judgment doth sometimes light upon a nation or people, for the unbelief, and unthankfulness, and impenitency, and contempt of their progenitors whilst they had the light; and that therefore the children for their parents, and posterity for their ancestry are punished not only with temporal, but even with spiritual judgments also. If any shall thus object, one of these two answers may satisfy them. First, if it should be granted the want of the Gospel to be properly a spiritual judgment, yet it would not follow that one man were punished spiritually for the fault

of another. For betwixt private persons and public societies there is this difference, that in private persons every succession maketh a change, so that, when the father dieth and the son cometh after him, there is not now the same person that was before, but another; but in cities, and countries, and kingdoms, and all public societies, succession maketh no change, so that when *one generation passeth, and another cometh* after it, there is not another city, or nation, or people than there was before, but the same.[k] If then the people of the same land should in this generation be visited with any such spiritual judgment, as is the removal of their candlestick, and the want of the Gospel, for the sins and impieties of their ancestors in some former generations, yet this ought no more to be accounted the punishment of one for another, than it ought to be accounted the punishing of one for another, to punish a man in his old age for the sins of his youth. For as the body of a man, though the primitive moisture be continually spending and wasting therein, and that decay be still repaired by a daily supply of new and alimental moisture, is yet truly the same body; and as a river fed with a living spring, though the water that is in the channel be continually running out, and other water freshly succeeding in the place and room thereof, is truly the same river; so a nation or people, though one generation is ever passing away, and another coming on, is yet truly the same nation or people, after an hundred or a thousand years, which it was before.

Eccl. i. 4.

14. Again, secondly, the want of the Gospel is not properly a spiritual, but rather a temporal punishment. We call it indeed sometimes a spiritual judgment, as we do the free use of it a spiritual blessing, because the Gospel was written for, and revealed unto, the Church by the Spirit of God; and also because it is the holy ordinance of God, and the proper instrument whereby, ordinarily, the spiritual life of faith and of grace is conveyed into our souls. But yet, properly and primarily, those only are spiritual blessings, which are immediately wrought in the soul by the Spirit of God, and by the

§. 14. and second Answer thereunto.

Eph. i. 3.

[k] Vid. responsionem Alfeni J. C. l. 79. ff. de Judiciis. [Digest. Lib. v. Tit. 1. §. 76. This reference was first given in the margin of the fourth Edition. For an account of Alfenus Varus see Prof. Long's article, under the latter name, in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.]

same Spirit cherished and preserved in the heart of the receiver for his good, and are proper and peculiar to those that are born again of the Spirit. And all those, on the contrary, which may be subject to decay, or are common to the reprobate with the elect, or may turn to the hurt of the receiver, are to be esteemed temporal blessings, and not spiritual. And such a blessing is the outward partaking of the Word and Ordinances of God: the want thereof therefore, consequently, is to be esteemed a temporal judgment rather than spiritual. So that, notwithstanding this instance, still the former consideration holdeth good, that God sometimes visiteth the sins of the fathers upon the children with outward and temporal, but never with spiritual and eternal punishments.

§. 15. Temporal Evils of Children, though not properly,

15. Now, if there could no more be said to this doubt, but only this, it were sufficient to clear God's Justice, since we have been already instructed, that these temporal judgments are not always properly and formally the punishments of sin. For as outward blessings are indeed no true blessings properly, because wicked men have their portion in them as well as the godly, and they may turn, and often do, to the greater hurt of the soul, and so become rather punishments than blessings, so, to the contrary, outward punishments are no true punishments properly, because the godly have their share in them as deep as the wicked, and they may turn, and often do, to the greater good of the soul, and so become rather blessings than punishments.

§. 16. are yet; after a sort, Punishments to Fathers; and how.

16. If it be yet said, But why then doth God threaten them as punishments, if they be not so? I answer. First, because they seem to be punishments, and are by most men so accounted for their grievousness, though they be not properly such in themselves. Secondly, for the common event, because *ut plurimum* and for the most part they prove punishments to the sufferer, in case he be not bettered, as well as grieved, by them. Thirdly, because they are indeed a kind of punishment, though not then deserved, but formerly. Fourthly, and most to the present purpose, because not seldom the father himself is punished in them, who through tenderness of affection taketh very much to heart the evils that happen to his child, sometimes more than if they had happened to himself.[1]

[1] Βαρύτερον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εἰς κολάσεως λόγον, τὸ τοὺς παῖδας ὁρᾶν τι-

See David weeping and puling for his traitorous son Absalom, when he was gone, more affectionately than we find he did for the hazards of his own person, and of the whole State of Israel, while he lived. For if it be a punishment to a man to sustain losses in his cattle, or goods, or lands, or friends, or any other thing he hath, how much more then in his children, of whom he maketh more account than of all the rest, as being not only an image, but even a part of himself,[m] and for whose sakes especially it is that he maketh so much account of the rest. The Egyptians were plagued not only in the blasting of their corn, the murrain of their cattle, the unwholesomeness of their waters, the annoyance of vermin, and such like, but also, and much more, in the death of their first-born: that was their last and greatest plague. The news of his children slain with the fall of an house did put Job, though not quite out of patience, yet more to the trial of his patience[n] than the loss of all his substance besides, though of many thousands of oxen, and asses, and sheep, and camels. Now if no man charge God with injustice, if, when a man sinneth, He punish him in his body, or goods, or good name, or in other things, why should it be suspected of injustice, when he sinneth, to punish him in his children? at least there, where the evil of the children, seen or foreseen, redoundeth to the grief and affliction of the father? And so was David's murder and adultery justly punished in the loss of his incestuous son Amnon, and of his murderous son Absalom. Upon which ground, some think that clause, *unto the third and fourth generation*, to have been added in the second Commandment, respectively to the ordinary ages of men; who oftentimes live to see their children to the third, and sometimes to the fourth generation, but very seldom further: im-

2 Sam. xviii. 33. xix. 5, 6.

Exod. xi. 5, 6.

xx. 5.

μωρουμένους ἢ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπευθύνους γεγονότας. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 29. [tom. iv. p. 289 B. ed. Ben.] Filii bona valetudo, felicitas, patrimonium, pertinet ad patrem? Felicior futurus est, si salvum habuerit filium; infelicior, si amiserit? Seneca, de Benef. v. 19. Nihil interest in se quis veritus fuerit, an in liberis: cum pro affectu parentes magis in liberis terreantur. Lib. viii. §. Haec quae. ff. 4. 2. Quod metus causa. [Digest. Lib. iv. Tit. 2. §. 8.]

[m] Natura pater et filius eadem esse persona paene intelligitur. l. ult. Cod. 626. de Impub. [Cod. Lib. vi. Tit. 26. Lex 11.] Pars quodammodo corporis ejus. l. 22. Cod. 11. Tit. 47. de Agricolis et Censitis.

[n] *Then Job arose, &c.* Job i. 20.

plying, as they think, that God usually punisheth the sins of the fathers upon the children, within such a compass of time as they may in likelihood see it, and grieve at it; and then, whatever evil it be, it is rather inflicted as a punishment to them than to their children. This in part satisfieth the doubt: that the punishments, which God layeth upon the children for the fathers' sins, are only temporal punishments, and consequently, by our second ground, not properly punishments.

§. 17. Consideration II. The Children that are punished for their fathers' sins,

17. But yet, for so much as these temporal evils, be it properly, be it improperly, are still a kind of punishment, and we have been already taught, from the third ground, that all evils of punishment, whether proper or improper, are brought upon men evermore and only for their own personal sins, the doubt is not yet wholly removed, unless we admit of a second consideration; and that concerneth the condition of those children upon whom such punishments are inflicted for their fathers' sins.

§. 18. either first, by Nature,

18. And first, it is considerable, that children most times tread in their fathers' steps, and continue in their sins, and so draw upon themselves their punishments. And this they do especially, by a three-fold conveyance of sin from their parents, viz. nature, example, and education. First, nature; and this is seen especially in those sins that are more sensual than other, and do after a sort symbolize with the predominant humour in the body. It is plain from experience that some sins, especially the proneness and inclination unto them, do follow some complexions and constitutions of body more than others, and arise from them: as ambition, rage, rashness, and turbulent intermeddling in other men's affairs, from choler; wantonness, and licentious mirth, from blood; drunkenness, and laziness, from phlegm; envy, and sullenness, implacable thirst of revenge, from melancholy. And these kind of sins, to note that by the way, do oftentimes prove our master-sins, such as Divines usually call our bosom, and darling, and beloved sins, *Peccatum in deliciis*, because naturally[o] we have a stronger proneness and inclination to these than to other sins. And therefore we ought to pray against, and to strive against,

[o] .. συγγενῆ ἁρρωστήματα... Theophrastus, Charact. 19. [de Foeditate.]

and to fight against these sins, and to avoid the occasions of them, especially and above all other sins. And if it shall please God so to strengthen us with His grace, and enable us by His Spirit, as to have in some good measure subdued these sins in us, and denied ourselves in them, it is to be comfortably hoped, that we have wrought the main and the masterpiece of our mortification. But to return where I was: as colour, and favour, and proportion, of hair, and face, and lineament, and as diseases and infirmities of the body, so, commonly, the abilities, and dispositions, and tempers of the mind and affections become hereditary, and, as we say, run in a blood.[p] *Naturae sequitur semina quisque suae.* An evil bird hatcheth an evil egg, and one viper will breed a generation of vipers.[q]

§. 19. or, secondly, by Example,

19. Secondly, we are, God knoweth, but too apish, apt to be led much by examples, more by the worst, most by the nearest.

Velocius et citius nos
Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica.[r]

Young ones will do as they see the old ones do before them; and they will on, *Non qua eundum, sed qua itur:* not as their father biddeth them, but as he leadeth them.

Si nociva senem juvat alea . . .[s]

If the father[t] be given to swearing, or gaming, or scoffing, or whoring, or riot, or contention, or excess in drink, or any thing else that naught is, let him counsel and advise his son as often and as earnestly as he can, he shall find one cursed example, without the singular mercy and grace of God, to do more hurt upon him than a thousand wholesome admonitions will do good.

fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.[u]

§. 20. or, thirdly, Education,

20. A third means of conveying vices from parents to children is Education: when parents train and bring up their

[p] Φεῦ, φεῦ, παλαιὸς αἶνος ὡς καλῶς ἔχει, Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χρηστὸς ἐκ κακοῦ πατρός. Euripides, ap. Stob. Serm. 88. [90. 5. ed. Gaisford.]

[q] Ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ γὰρ ἡ φύσις τίκτει κακόν· ὡς ἐξ ἐχίδνης πάλιν ἔχιδνα γίγνεται. Ecdorus, ibid. [9.]

[r] Juvenal. Sat. xiv. [31.]

[s] Juvenal, ibid. [4. Si *damnosa* senem juvat alea, ludit et haeres Bullatus.]

[t] Probum patrem esse oportet, qui gnatum suum Esse probiorem, quam ipsus fuerit, postulet. Plautus, in Pseud. [I. v. 23.]

[u] Juvenal. ubi supra. [37.]

children in those sinful courses, wherein themselves have lived and delighted. So covetous worldlings are ever distilling into the ears of their children precepts of parsimony and good husbandry, reading them lectures of thrift, and inculcating principles of getting and saving.

Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
Imbuet, et coget minimas ediscere sordes.[x]

Idle, wandering beggars train up their children in a trade of begging, and lying, and cursing, and filching, and all idleness and abominable filthiness. And idolatrous parents, how careful they are to nuzzle* up their posterity in superstition and idolatry, I would our profest Popelings† and half-baked Protestants did not let us see but too often. Wretched and accursed is our supine carelessness, if these men's wicked diligence, whose first care for the fruit of their bodies is to poison their souls, by sacrificing their sons and daughters to idols, shall rise up in judgment against us, and condemn our foul neglect, in not seasoning the tender years of our children with such religious, godly, and virtuous informations as they are capable of.

Eph. vi. 4.

§. 21. tread in their fathers' steps;

21. However it be, whether by Nature, Example, or Education, one, or more, or all of these, certain it is, that most times sins pass along from the father to the son,[y] and so downward, by a kind of lineal descent from predecessors to posterity; and that for the most part with advantage and increase:[z] whole families being tainted with the special vices of their stock. John Baptist speaketh of a *generation of vipers;* and if we should but observe the conditions of some families in a long line of succession, might we not espy, here and there, even whole generations of drunkards, and generations of

S. Matt. iii. 7.

[x] Juvenal. Sat. xiv. [123.]

* 'nuzzle.' See above, Sermon i. ad Pop. §. 16, and compare Hacket's first Sermon on the Incarnation: 'our women do so nuzzle up their little imps in the cradle.'

† 'Popelings,' *Papists.* Compare Sermon vi. §. 19. Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. 196. 'our cunning Popelings.' The word occurs in a Letter from Dr. Meddus to Rev. Jos. Mead, Sept. 5, 1623, and in an extract given there from a Letter of Dr. Prideaux, afterwards Bp. of Worcester. Court and Times of James I. ii. 417. 'This audacious Popeling, knowing how acceptable his popish innovation was to the Archbishop.' Prynne, Canterbury's Doom, 194.

[y] .... redit ad auctores genus, Stirpemque primam degener sanguis refert. Seneca in Hippol. act. 3. [908.]

[z] Οἱ πλέονες κακίους, παῦροι δέ τε πατρὸς ἀρείους. Homer, Od. ii. [277.] Et qui Omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet. Juvenal, Sat. xiv. [52.]

swearers, and generations of idolaters, and generations of worldlings, and generations of seditious, and of envious, and of riotous, and of haughty, and of unclean persons, and of sinners in other kinds? This ungodly King Ahab,—see how all that come of him taste of him, and have some spice and relish of his evil manners. Of his son Ahaziah, that next succeeded him in the kingdom of Israel, the Text saith in the next chapter, that *he walked in the way of his father, and in the way of his mother.* And another Ahaziah, King of Judah, the grandchild of Jehosaphat by the father's side, and of Ahab by the mother's, drew infection from the mother, and so trod in the steps rather of this his wicked grandfather Ahab than of his good grandfather Jehosaphat; and of him therefore the Scripture saith remarkably, *he walked in the way of the house of Ahab, and did evil in the sight of the Lord, as did the house of Ahab, for he was the son-in-law of the house of Ahab.* Little doth any man think what hurt he may do unto, and what plague he may bring upon, his posterity, by joining himself or them, in too strict a bond of nearness, with an ill or an idolatrous house or stock. Here, we see, is Ahab's house taxed, and not his person only, even the whole family, and brood, and kin of them, branch and root. And that Jehoram also, who is the son here spoken of and meant in my Text, did *patrissare* too as well as the rest of the kinred,* and take after the father, though not in that height of impiety and idolatry as his father, is plain from the sequel of the Story. And so doing, and partaking of the evils of sin with his father, why might not he also in justice partake of the evils of punishment with his father?

1 Kings xxii. 52.

2 Kings viii. 27.

2 Kings iii. 2.

22. Secondly, the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children sometimes, as possessors of something which their fathers left them, with God's curse cleaving unto it. As in the Law, not only he that had an issue of uncleanness made them unclean that touched him, but even the saddle or stool he sate upon, the clothes he wore, the bed whereon he lay, any vessel of earth or of wood that he did but touch, was enough to bring legal pollution and uncleanness upon any other person that should but touch them, so, not only our fathers' sins, if we

§. 22. or, secondly, are possessors of something from their fathers, with God's curse cleaving thereunto. See Levit. xv. 2–12.

* 'kinred,' nearer to the Anglo-Saxon than the usual form *kindred.* Jamieson has *Kinrent.* See the Sermon next following, §. 36.

touch them by imitation, but even their lands and goods and houses,[a] and other things that were theirs, are sufficient to derive God's curse upon us, if we do but hold them in possession. What is gotten by any evil and unjust and unwarrantable means, is in God's sight and estimation no better than stolen. Now stolen goods, we know, though they have passed through never so many hands before, that man is answerable for, in whose hands they are found, and in whose custody and possession they are.[b] God hateth not sin only, but the very monuments of sin too; and His curse fasteneth, not only upon the agent, but upon the brute and dead materials too. And where theft, or oppression, or perjury, or sacrilege have laid
Zech. v. 4. the foundation, and reared the house, there the curse of God creepeth in between the walls and seelings, and lurketh close within the stones and the timber, and as a fretting moth or canker, insensibly gnawing asunder the pins and the joints of the building, till it have unframed it, and resolved it into a ruinous heap: for which mischief there is no remedy, no preservation from it, but one; and that is, free and speedy restitution. For any thing we know, what Ahab the father got without justice, Jehoram the son held without scruple. We do not find that ever he made restitution of Naboth's vineyard to the right heir, and it is like enough he did not; and then between him and his father there was but this difference, the father was the thief and he the receiver, which two the Law severeth not either in guilt or punishment, but wrappeth them equally in the same guilt,* and in the same punishment . . *καὶ ὁ κλέψας μὲν, καὶ ὁ λήψας.*[c] And who knoweth whether the very holding of that vineyard might not bring upon him the
2 Kings ix. 25, 26. curse of his father's oppression? it is plain that vineyard was the place where the heaviest part of that curse overtook him.

[a] *Ἀδίκως δὲ μὴ κτῶ κτήματ', ἢν βουλῇ πολὺν Χρόνον μελάθροις ἐμμένειν· τὰ γὰρ κακῶς Οἴκους ἐσέλθοντ' οὐκ ἔχει σωτηρίαν.* Eurip. [Erectheus, Fragm. ii. 11, 13.]

[b] [*ταῦτα δὲ*] *καὶ οἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν* [*ἴσασι*] *νόμοι,* [*οἱ*] *τοὺς ἁρπάσαντας* [*καὶ ὑφελομένους*] *ἀφέντες, ἐκείνους κελεύουσιν ἀπαιτεῖν, παρ' οἷς ἂν εὕροι τις τὰ αὐτοῦ κείμενα* [*ἅπαντα*]. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 15. [tom. x. p. 131 D. ed. Ben.]

* Compare Sermon xiii. ad Aulam, §. 17.

[c] *Ἀμφότεροι κλῶπες, καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος, καὶ ὁ κλέψας.* Phocylides. [PseudoPhocylides, 136, in Bergk's Poetae Lyrici, p. 350. Phocylides was contemporary with Theognis, who was born 544, and outlived 490 B. C. Clinton's Fasti. The poem from which this line is taken must have been written after the Christian aera.]

§. 23. Consideration III. from the distinction of impulsive Causes.

23. But that which is the upshot of all, and untieth all the knots both of this and of all other doubts that can be made against God's Justice, in punishing one for another, ariseth from a third consideration, which is this. That the children are punished for the fathers' sins, or indefinitely any one man for the sins of any other man, it ought to be imputed to those sins of the fathers or others, not as to the causes properly deserving them, but only as occasioning those punishments. It pleaseth God to take occasion from the sins of the fathers, or of some others, to bring upon their children, or those that otherwise belong unto them in some kind of relation, those evils which by their own corruptions and sins they have justly deserved. This distinction of the cause and occasion, if well heeded, both fully acquitteth God's Justice, and abundantly reconcileth the seeming contradictions of Scripture in this argument; and therefore it will be worth the while, a little to open it.

§. 24. The impulsive Cause, what it is.

24. There is a kind of cause *de numero efficientium*, which the learned, for distinction's sake, call the Impulsive Cause; and it is such a cause as moveth and induceth the principal agent[d] to do that which it doth. For example, a schoolmaster correcteth a boy with a rod for neglecting his book. Of this correction here are three distinct causes, all in the rank of efficients, viz. the master, the rod, and the boy's neglect; but each hath its proper causality in a different kind and manner from other. The master is the cause, as the principal agent that doth it; the rod is the cause, as the instrument wherewith he doth it; and the boy's neglect the impulsive cause, for which he doth it. Semblably, in this judgment which befell Jehoram, the principal efficient cause and agent was God, as He is in all other punishments and judgments: *Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* and here He taketh it to Himself, *I will bring the evil upon his house.* The instrumental cause under God was Jehu, whom God raised up, and endued with zeal and power for the execution of that vengeance, which He had determined against Ahab and against his house, as appeareth in 2 Kings ix. and x. But now, what the true proper impulsive cause should be, for which he was so punished,

Amos iii. 6.

[d] Quae principalem efficientem impellit ad efficiendum. Keckerman, Syst. Log. [Compend. Method.] i. 10.

and which moved God at that time and in that sort to punish him, that is the point wherein consisteth the chiefest difficulty in this matter, and into which therefore we are now to inquire: viz. whether that were rather his own sin, or his father Ahab's sin?

§. 25. Two sorts of impulsive Causes;

25. Whether we answer for this, or for that, we say but the truth in both; for both sayings are true: God punished him for his own, and God punished him for his father's sin. The difference only this. His own sins were the impulsive cause that deserved the punishment, his father's sin the impulsive cause that occasioned it; and so indeed, upon the point,* and respectively to the justice of God, rather his own sins were the cause of it, than his father's: both because justice doth especially look at the desert; and also because that which deserveth a punishment is more effectually, and primarily, and properly the impulsive cause of punishing, than that which only occasioneth it. The terms whereby Artists† express these two different kinds of impulsive causes, borrowed from Galen and the Physicians, of *προηγουμένη*, and *προκατάρχουσα*,[e] would be excellent and full of satisfaction, if they were of easy understanding. But for that they are not so, especially to such as are not acquainted with the terms and learning of the Schools, I forbear to use them, and rather than to take the shortest cut over hedge and ditch, choose to lead you an easier and plainer way, though it's something about; and that by a familiar example.

§. 26. explained by a familiar Example,

26. A man hath lived for some good space in reasonable state of health, yet by gross feeding, and through continuance of time, his body the whilst hath contracted many vicious, noisome, and malignant humours. It happeneth he had occasion to ride abroad in bad weather, taketh wet on his feet or neck, getteth cold with it, cometh home, findeth himself not well, falleth a shaking first, and anon after into a dangerous and lasting fever. Here is a fever, and here are two different

* 'upon the point.' Compare Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 3.

† 'Artists.' Compare Milton, Paradise Lost, i. 287.

like the Moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan Artist views
At evening from the top of Fiesole.

[e] See Keckerman. Syst. Log. [Compend. Method.] i. 10. called by Brulifer, Causa Dispositiva, et Excitativa. apud Altenstaig, [Lexicon Theolog.] in dict. *Causa*.

causes of it, an antecedent cause within, the abundance of noisome and crude humours, that is *causa προηγουμένη*;[f] and the evident cause *ab extra*, his riding in the wet, and taking cold upon it, and that is Galen's *causa προκατάρχουσα*.[g] Let us go on a little, and compare these causes. The Physician is sent for, the sick man's friends they stand about him; and in cometh the Physician among them, and inquireth of him and them how he got his fever. They presently give him such information as they can; and the information is both true and sufficient, so far as it reacheth. They tell him the one cause, the occasional cause, the outward evident cause. 'Alas, Sir, he rode such a journey, such a time, got wet on his feet, and took cold upon it, and that hath brought him to all this.' That is all they are able to say to it, for other cause they know none. But by and by, after some surview* of the state of the body, he is able to inform them in the other cause, the inward and original cause, whereof they were as ignorant before, as he was of that other outward one; and he telleth them the cause of the malady is superfluity of crude and noisome humours, rankness of blood, abundance of melancholy, tough phlegm, or some other like thing within. Now, if it be demanded, which of these two is rather the cause of his sickness, the truth is, that inward antecedent cause within is the very cause thereof, although perhaps it had not bred a fever at that time, if that other outward occasion had not been. For by that inward hidden cause the body was prepared for an ague: only there wanted some outward fit accident, to stir and provoke the humours within, and to set them on working. And the party's body, being so prepared, might have fallen into the same sickness by some other accident as well as that, as over-heating himself with exercise, immoderate watching, some distemper or surfeit in diet, or the like. But neither that, nor any of these, nor any other such accident could have

[f] Interiores dispositiones quae irritantur ab externis causis. Melancthon. [Dialect. Opp. in Corp. Reformatorum, tom. xiii. col. 677.] Causa dispositiva. Brulifer. [ap. Altenstaig. ubi supra. Dis. xi. Qu. 3. Lib. iii.]

[g] Causa externa irritatrix. Melancthon. Causa Excitativa. Brulifer.

* 'surview.' This form of 'survey' was used also as a verb, e. g. in Spenser's Shepherd's Kalendar, February, 145. 'Of custome for to survewe his grounde.' See below, Sermon iv. §. 26.

cast him into such a fit, if the humours had not been ripe, and the body thereby prepared to entertain such a disease. So as the bad humours within may rather be said to be the true cause, and that cold-taking but the occasion of the ague, the disease itself issuing from the hidden cause within; and the outward accident being the cause, not so much of the disease itself, why the ague should take him, as why it should take him at that time, rather than at another, and hold him in that part, or in that manner, rather than in another.

§. 27. and applied to the present Argument.

27. From this example we may see, in some proportion, how our own sins, and other men's, concur as joint impulsive causes of those punishments which God bringeth upon us. Our own sins, they are the true hidden antecedent causes[h] which deserve the punishments: our father's sins, or our governor's sins, or our neighbour's sins, or whatsoever other man's sins, that are visited upon us, are only the outward evident causes,[i] or rather occasions, why we should be punished at this time, and in this thing, and in this manner, and in this measure, and with these circumstances. And as, in the former example, the Patient's friends considered one cause, and the Physician another; they, the evident and outward, he, the inward and antecedent cause; so, respectively to God's Justice, our own sins only are the causes of our punishments; but in respect of His Providence and Wisdom, our fathers' sins also, or other men's. For Justice looketh upon the desert only; and so the punishments are ever and only from our own personal sins, as we learned from our third Certainty; but it is Providence that ordereth the occasions, and the seasons, and the other circumstances of God's punishments.

§. 28.

28. Hence may we learn to reconcile those places of Scripture, which seem to cross one another in this argument. In Ezekiel and Jeremy it is said, that *every man shall be punished for his own sins*, and that *the children shall not bear the iniquity of the fathers;* and yet the same Jeremy complaineth as if it were otherwise, *Our fathers have sinned, and are not; and we have borne their iniquities.* Yea, God Himself proclaimeth otherwise, I am *a jealous God, visiting the*

Jer. xxxi. 30. Ezek. xviii. 20.

Lam. v. 7.

Exod. xx. 5.

[h] Causa προηγουμένη, interna, antecedens, dispositiva.

[i] Causa προκατάρχουσα, externa, irritatrix, excitativa.

sins of the fathers upon the children. Nor only doth He visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, but He visiteth also the sins of Princes upon their subjects, as David's people were wasted for his sin in numbering them: yea, and He visiteth sometimes the sins even of ordinary private men upon public societies. *Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a trespass in the accursed thing, and wrath fell upon all the congregation of Israel, and that man perished not alone in his iniquity?* Now how can all this stand together? 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. Josh. xxii. 20.

§. 29. how to be reconciled:

29. Yes, very well: even as well, as, in the act of punishing, God's Justice and His Wisdom can stand together. Mark then, wheresoever the Scripture ascribeth one man's punishment to another man's sin, it pointeth us to God's Wisdom and Providence, who for good and just ends maketh choice of these occasions rather than other, sometimes, to inflict those punishments upon men which their own sins have otherwise abundantly deserved. On the contrary, wheresoever the Scripture giveth all punishments unto the personal sins of the sufferer, it pointeth us to God's Justice, which looketh still to the desert, and doth not upon any occasion whatsoever inflict punishments but where there are personal sins to deserve them: so that every man that is punished, in any kind, or upon any occasion, may join with David in that confession of his, *Against Thee have I sinned, and done evil in Thy sight: that Thou mightest be justified in Thy sayings, and clear when Thou judgest.* Ps. li. 4.

§. 30. with an exemplary instance thereof.

30. Say then, an unconscionable great one, by cruel oppression, wring, as Ahab did here, his poorer neighbour's vineyard from him, or by countenanced sacrilege geld a Bishopric* of a fair lordship or manor, and, when he hath done, his prodigal heir run one end of it away in matches, drown another end of it in taverns and tap-houses, melt away the rest in lust

* Compare Spenser, Mother Hubbard's Tale, 519. 'Scarce can a Bishoprick forpas them by, But that it must be gelt in privitie;' and Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Bk. xiv. No. 6. §. 9. note g. '24 Jan. Ann. 1552. The Castle of Sherburn was conveyed to this Duke by Dr John Capon, translated from Bangor to Sarum. In speaking whereof, Sir John Harington, who, according to the humour of the age he wrote in, loved a pun dearly, says, he made a capon of his Bishopric, and so gelded it, that he thought it would never again be good for ought. Brief View, p. 88.' In Hall's Satires, IV. ii. 106. 'a gelded chapel,' i. e. robbed of its endowment, is illustrated by Warton from the Return from Parnassus, iii. 1. 'He hath a proper gelded parsonage.'

and beastly sensuality, who doth not here see both God's Justice, in turning him out of that which was so foully abused by his own sins, and His Providence withal, in fastening the curse upon that portion which was so unjustly gotten by his father's sins? Every man is ready to say, 'It was never like to prosper, it was so ill gotten;' and so acknowledge the covetous father's sin, as occasioning it. And yet every man can say withal, 'It was never likely to continue long, it was so vainly lavished out;' and so acknowledge the prodigal son's sin, as sufficiently deserving it.

§. 31. The resolution of the remaining doubt,

31. Thus have we heard the main doubt solved. The sum of all is this. God punisheth the son for the father's sin, but with temporal punishments, not eternal; and with those, perhaps, so as to redound to the father's punishment in the son. Perhaps, because the son treadeth in his father's steps; perhaps, because he possesseth that from his father to which God's curse adhereth; perhaps for other reasons best known to God Himself, wherewith He hath not thought meet to acquaint us; but whatever the occasion be, or the ends, evermore for the son's own personal sins, abundantly deserving them.

§. 32. applied also to the rest.

32. And the same resolution is to be given to the other two doubts proposed in the beginning: to that, Why God should punish any one man for another? and to the third, Why God should punish the lesser offender for the greater? In which, and all other doubts of like kind, it is enough, for the clearing of God's Justice, to consider, that when God doth so, they are, first, only temporal punishments which He so inflicteth; and those, secondly, no more than what the sufferer by his own sins hath most rightfully deserved. All those other considerations, as that the Prince and people are but one body, and so each may feel the smart of others' sins and stripes; that oftentimes we have given way to other men's sins when we might have stopped them, or consent, when we should have withstood them, or silent allowance, when we should have checked them, or perhaps furtherance, when we should rather have hindered them; that the punishments brought upon us for our fathers' or other men's sins may turn to our great spiritual advantage, in the humbling of our souls, the subduing of our corruptions, the increasing of our care, the exercising of our graces; that where all have deserved the punishment, it is left to the dis-

cretion of the Judge, whom he will pick out, the father or the son, the governor or the subject, the ringleader or the follower, the greater or the lesser offender, to show exemplary justice upon, as he shall see expedient: I say, all these, and other like considerations many, though they are to be admitted as true, and observed as useful, yet they are such as belong rather to God's Providence and His Wisdom than to His Justice. If therefore thou knowest not the very particular reason, why God should punish thee in this or that manner, or upon this or that occasion, let it suffice thee that the counsels and purposes of God are secret; and thou art not to inquire with scrupulous curiosity into the dispensation and courses of His Providence, further than it hath pleased Him either to reveal it in His Word, or by His manifest works to discover it unto thee. But whatsoever thou doest, never make question of His Justice. Begin first to make inquiry into thine own self; and if, after unpartial search, thou there findest not corruption enough to deserve all out* as much as God hath laid upon thee, then complain of injustice, but not before. And so much for the doubts.

§. 33. The first Inference.

33. Let us now, from the premisses, raise some instructions for our use. First, Parents, we think, have reason to be careful; and so they have, for their children, and to desire and labour, as much as in them lieth, their well-doing. Here is a fair course then for you that are parents, and have children to care for. Do you that which is good, and honest, and right; and they are like to fare the better for it. Wouldest thou then, brother, leave thy lands and thy estate to thy child, entire and free from incumbrances? It is an honest care; but here is the way. *Abstineas igitur damnandis:*[k] leave them free from the guilt of thy sins,[l] which are able to comber† them beyond any statute or mortgage. If not the bond of God's Law, if not the care of thine own soul, if not the fear of Hell, if not the inward checks of thine own conscience,—*Sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans:*[m] at the least let the good of thy

* all out,' *entirely*, as in Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 29.

[k] Juvenal, Sat. xiv. [38.]

[l] τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένους, ἡγεῖσθε μὴ πλοῦτον, ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον ποιήσειν. Isocrates, [Nicocl. p. 37 b.]

† 'comber.' Cf. S. Luke x. 32. *combred about much serving*, in the Geneva Bible.

[m] Juvenal, Sat. xiv. [49. *obsistat*]

poor sweet infants restrain thee from doing that sin, which might pull down from Heaven a plague upon them and theirs. Go to then, do not applaud thyself in thy witty villanies, when thou hast circumvented and prospered; when, Ahab-like, thou hast killed and taken possession; when thou hast larded thy leaner revenues with fat collops sacrilegiously cut out of the sides or flanks of the Church; and hast nailed all these, with all the appurtenances, by fines, and vouchers, and entails, as firm as Law can make them, to thy child, and his child, and his child's child for ever. After all this stir, cast up thy bills, and see what a goodly bargain thou hast made. Thou hast damned thyself, to undo thy child: thou hast brought a curse upon thine own soul, to purchase that for thy child which shall bring a curse both upon it and him. [When thy indentures were drawn, and thy learned Counsel feed to peruse the instrument, and with exact severity to ponder with thee every clause and syllable therein, could none of you spy a flaw in that clause, 'with all and singular the appurtenances?' neither observe, that thereby thou diddest settle upon thy posterity, together with thy estate, the wrath, and vengeance, and curse of God, which is one of those appurtenances? Hadst thou not a faithful counsellor within thine own breast, if thou wouldst but have conferred and advised with him plainly and undissemblingly, that could have told thee, thou hadst by thy oppression and injustice, *ipso facto*, cut off the entail from thy issue, even long before thou hadst made it?] But if thou wouldst leave thy posterity a firm and secure and durable estate, do this rather. Purchase for them by thy charitable works the prayers and blessings of the poor; settle upon them the fruits of a religious, sober, and honest education; bequeath them the legacy of thy good example, 'in all virtuous and godly living;'* and that portion thou leavest them besides, of earthly things, be it much or little, be sure it be well gotten:[n] otherwise never look it should prosper with them.[o] *A little*

1 Kings xxi. 19.

1 Cor. v. 6.

* From the Exhortation to the Godfathers and Godmothers in the office of Baptism.

[n] Εἰ παισὶ βούλει παραδοῦναι πλοῦτον, δίκαιον κτήσαι, [εἴγε τις ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος·] οὗτος γὰρ μένει, καὶ βέβαιος ἕστηκεν· ὁ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος, ταχέως ἀπόλλυται καὶ διαφθείρεται. Chrysost. in Eph. Hom. 2. [tom. xi. p. 14 D. ed. Ben.]

[o] ἡ Πυθία, Γλαύκου .. ἐπίορκα ὁμόσαντος, καὶ τοῦδε εἶπεν εἰς τοὺς ἀπογόνους, κατίεναι τὴν δίκην. Pausanias, in Corinthiacis. [ii. 18. Cf. viii. 17.] Juvenal, Sat. xiii. [199 sq.]

leaven leaveneth the whole lump, and soureth it; and a little ill gotten, like a gangrene, spreadeth through the whole estate, and worse than *aqua fortis*,* or the poisoned shirt that Deianira gave Hercules,[p] cleaveth unto it, and feedeth upon it, and by little and little gnaweth, and fretteth, and consumeth it to nothing. And surely, God's Justice hath wonderfully manifested itself unto the world in this kind, sometimes even to the public astonishment and admiration of all men: that men of ancient families, and great estates, well left by their ancestors, and free from debts, legacies, or other incumbrances, not notedly guilty of any expenseful sin or vanity, but wary, and husbandly, and careful to thrive in the world, not kept under with any great burden of needy friends, or charge of children, not much hindered by any extraordinary losses, or casualties of fire, thieves, suretiship, or suits: that such men, I say, should yet sink, and decay, and run behindhand in the world, and their estates crumble and milder† away, and come to nothing, and no man knoweth how. No question, but they have sins enough of their own to deserve all this, and ten times more than all this; but yet withal, who knoweth but that it might, nay, who knoweth not that sometimes it doth, so legible now and then are God's judgments, come upon them for the greediness, and avarice, and oppression, and sacrilege, and injustice of their not long foregoing ancestors? You that are parents, take heed of these sins. It may be, for some other reasons known best to Himself, God suffereth you to go on your own time, and suspendeth the judgments your sins have deserved, for a space, as here He did Ahab's upon his humiliation; but be assured, sooner or later, vengeance will overtake you or yours for it. You have coveted an evil covetous- Hab. ii. 9.
ness to your house; and there hangeth a judgment over your house for it, as rain in the clouds; which, perhaps in your son's, perhaps in your grandchild's days, some time or other, will come dashing down upon it, and overwhelm it. Think not the vision is for many descents to come—*de male quaesitis*

* 'worse than *aqua fortis*.' Compare Sermon vi. ad Magistratum, §. 24.

[p] ... ardeo Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules Nessi cruore. Horat. Epod. xvii. [30.] See Sophocles in Trachin. [695–704. 767–771. 1053–1057. Dindorf.]

† 'milder.' See Sermon vi. ad Magistr. §. 23. The Edition of 1681, in this place, incorrectly gives 'moulder.'

*vix gaudet tertius haeres:** seldom doth the third, scarce ever the fourth generation pass, before God visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, if He do not in the very next gene-
Exod. xx. 5. ration. *In his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.*

§. 34. The second. 34. Secondly, if not only our own, but our fathers' sins too, may be, shall be visited upon us, how concerneth it us, as to repent for our own, so to lament also the sins of our forefathers; and in our confessions and supplications to God, sometimes to remember them, that He may forget them, and to set them before His face, that He may cast them behind His back. We have a good precedent for it in our public Litany: *Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers.* A good, and a profitable, and a needful prayer it is; and those men have not done well, nor justly, that have cavilled at it.† O that men would be wise according to sobriety, and allow but just interpretations to things advisedly established, rather than busy themselves *nodum in scirpo*,‡ to pick needless quarrels where they should not. What unity would it bring to brethren, what peace to the Church, what joy to all good and wise men! As to this particular, God requireth of the Israelites that they should confess their iniquity,
Lev. xxvi. 39, 40. and the iniquity of their fathers. David did so, and Jeremy
Ps. cvi. 6. did so, and Daniel did so. And if David thought it a fit curse
Jer. iii. 25. to pronounce against Judas, and such as he was, *Let the*
Dan. ix. 5, 6. *wickedness of his fathers be had in remembrance in the sight*
Ps. cix. 14. *of the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be done away,* why may we not, nay, how ought we not, to pray for the removal of this very curse from us, as well as of any other curses? The present age is rife of many enormous, crying sins, which call loud for a judgment upon the land; and if God should bring upon us a right heavy one, whereat all ears

* De male quaesitis *non* gaudet tertius haeres. Adagia Gilb. Cognati, 486. Cf. Male parta male dilabuntur. Erasm. Adag. I. vii. 82. and in the Quaestiones Symbolicae of Achilles Bocchius, printed in 1555, ii. 47.

Perduntur bene parta saepe: semper
Perduntur male parta, et author ipse.

† Those who charge this petition to be praying for the dead, both accuse the Holy Scripture, and betray their malice as well as their ignorance, it being evident we do herein pray, not for our deceased ancestors, but for ourselves, that God would not punish us, neither for their offences, nor yet for our own. Comber, Companion to the Temple, ii. 31. Oxon. 1841.

‡ Terent. Andr. V. iv. 38.

should tingle, could we say other, but that it were most just, even for the sins of this present generation? But if unto our own, so many, so great, God should also add the sins of our forefathers, the bloodshed, and tyranny, and grievous unnatural butcheries in the long times of the Civil wars, and the universal idolatries and superstitions covering the whole land in the longer and darker times of Popery; and if, as He sometimes threatened to bring upon the Jews of that one generation all the righteous blood that ever was shed upon the earth, from the blood of the righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias, so He should bring the sins of our ancestors, for many generations past, upon this generation of our's, who could be able to abide it? Now, when the security* of the times gives us but too much cause to fear it, and *the regions begin to look white* towards the harvest,† is it not time for us with all humiliation of soul and body to cast down ourselves, and with all contention of voice and spirit to lift up our prayers? and to say; *Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers; neither take thou vengeance of our sins: Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever. Spare us, good Lord.*

S. Matthew xxiii. 35, 36.

§ 35. The third Inference.

35. Thirdly, since not only our fathers' sins, and our own, but our neighbours' sins too,—*aliquid malum propter vicinum malum*,—but especially the sins of Princes and Governors,—*delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*,[q]—may bring judgments upon us, and enwrap us in their punishments, it should teach every one of us to seek his own private in the common and public good, and to endeavour, if but for our own security from punishment, to awaken other from their security in sin. How should we send up *supplications and prayers and intercessions for Kings and for all that are in authority*; that God would incline their hearts unto righteous courses, and open their ears to wholesome counsels, and strengthen their hands to just actions, when but a sinful oversight in one of

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

* 'security,' *carelessness*, a Latinism.

† S. John iv. 35. Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva have *regions*, after the Vulgate, *regiones*. The Rhemish has *countries*. *Fields* in the Authorized Version is a return to Wycliffe.]

[q] Horat. Epist. I. ii. [14.]

them may prove the overthrow of many thousands of us, as David, but by once numbering his people in the pride of his heart, lessened their number at one clap* threescore and ten thousand. If Israel turn their backs upon their enemies, up, Joshua, and make search for the troubler of Israel, firret† out the thief, and do execution upon him. One Achan, if but suffered, is able to undo the whole host of Israel: what mischief might he do if countenanced, if allowed. The hour, I see, hath overtaken me,‡ and I must end. To wrap up all in a word then, and conclude. Thou that hast power over others, suffer no sin in them by base connivance, but punish it. Thou that hast charge of others, suffer no sin in them by dull silence, but rebuke it. Thou that hast any interest in or dealing with others, suffer no sin upon them, by easy allowance, but distaste it. Thou that hast nothing else, yet by thy charitable prayers for them, and by constant example to them, stop the course of sin in others, further the growth of grace in others, labour by all means, as much as in thee lieth, to draw others unto God, lest their sins draw God's judgments upon themselves and thee. This that thou mayest do, and that I may do, and that every one of us that feareth God, and wisheth well to *the Israel of God*, may do faithfully and discreetly in our several stations and callings, let us all humbly beseech the Lord, the God of all grace and wisdom, for His Son Jesus' sake, by His Holy Spirit to enable us. To which blessed Trinity, One only wise, immortal, invisible, almighty, most gracious, and most glorious Lord and God, be ascribed by every one of us, *the kingdom, the power, and the glory*, both now and for ever. Amen.

2 Sam. xxiv. 15.

Joshua vii. 8, 10, 15.

* 'at one clap,' *at once*, as in Spenser, F. Q. IV. ii. 42. and Shakspeare, K. Lear, i. 4.

† 'firret.' So in all the Editions: nearer to the Latin *viverra*, and the Italian *fierretto*, than the more modern form *ferret*.

‡ 'The hour hath overtaken me.' See Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 48. and compare Bp. Hacket's Century of Sermons, p. 708. 'And now I could wish that the hour were to begin again.' p. 812. 'I am come to the utmost portion of the hour.' p. 815. 'This momentary destruction of Lot's wife, I am sure, is worth both this and many hours' meditations.'

In the Edition of 1628 the following Dedication is prefixed to the fifth and sixth Sermons only: 'Two Sermons preached at Pauls Cross, London.' In that of 1632 it occupies the place here assigned it, before the fourth Sermon. 'Three Sermons preached at Pauls, London.'

To the worshipful my very kind Neighbour and Patron, Thomas Harington of Boothby-Pagnell, in the County of Lincoln, Esquire.

Sir,

Although I neither have, nor ought to have, any other prime intention in the publishing of these three* Sermons than I had in the preaching of them, and than every Minister that forecasteth to make his last account with comfort ought to have in the whole course and exercise of his Ministry, viz. the building up of the people of God in Faith and Godliness, yet I cannot but desire withal that, as they pass abroad in the world, they may stand up every where as a public Testimony of my private obligations to you. Whereof, omitting those daily kind offices of Friendship and Neighbourhood, which you are ever ready to do me and mine upon all occasions; as also your zeal unto Justice and the Common-good, abundantly manifested in managing the affairs of your Country with singular skill, industry, and faithfulness, I need produce no other argument than this; that living so long under my Charge as I do also under your Patronage, you never yet gave me the least cause to think myself either despised in the work or defrauded in the wages of my Ministry. Which, as it is a gracious evidence of a pious and sincere heart in you, so it is a circumstance, wherein I am happy beyond

* In the Edition of 1628, 'these two Sermons.'

the condition of most of my Brethren in the same Calling. God make me truly thankful to Him for His good Providence over me therein, and for all other His mercies towards me; and both continue and increase your Comforts amid all the Afflictions of this present evil World, and in the end make you partaker of the Joys of the World to come.

Your's in the Lord,

ROBERT SANDERSON.

Boothby Pagnell, Linc.
1 July, 1628.

SERMON IV.

IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, LONDON, 4 NOVEMBER, 1621.

I Cor. VII. 24.

Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.

§. 1. The Occasion and Scope of the Text.

IF flesh and blood be suffered to make the gloss, it is able to corrupt a right good Text. It easily turneth the doctrine of God's grace into wantonness,* and as easily the doctrine of Christian liberty into licentiousness. These Corinthians, being yet but carnal, for the point of liberty consulted, it seemeth, 1 Cor. iii. 1, 3, 4. but too much with this cursed gloss, which taught them to interpret their calling to the Christian Faith as an exemption from the duties of all other callings, as if their spiritual freedom in Christ had cancelled *ipso facto* all former obligations, whether of nature or civility. The husband would put away his wife, the servant disrespect his master, every other man break the bonds of relation to every other man; and all under this pretence, and upon this ground, that Christ hath made them free. In this passage of the chapter the Apostle occasionally correcteth this error. Principally, indeed, as the present argument led him, in the particular of Marriage; but with a further and more universal extent to all outward states and conditions of life. The sum of his doctrine this. He that is yoked with a wife must not put her away, but count her worthy of all love; he that is bound to a master must not despise him, but count him worthy of all honour; every other man that is tied in any relation to any other man must not neglect him, but count him worthy of all good offices and civil respects suitable to his place and person, though she, or he, or that other, be infidels and unbelievers. The Christian Calling

* S. Jude 4. in all the English Translations previous to 1611, except the Rhemish, which has *riotousness*. See below, Sermon vii. §. 32.

doth not at all prejudice, much less overthrow, it rather establisheth and strengtheneth, those interests, that arise from natural relations, or from voluntary contracts, either domestical or civil, betwixt man and man. The general rule to this effect he conceiveth in the form of an exhortation, that every man, notwithstanding his calling unto liberty in Christ, abide in that station wherein God hath placed him, contain himself within the bounds thereof, and cheerfully and contentedly undergo the duties that belong thereto, verse 17. *As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk.* And lest this exhortation, as it fareth with most other, especially such as come in but upon the by,[a] as this doth, should be slenderly regarded, the more fully to commend it to their consideration and practice, he repeateth it once again,[b] verse 20, *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.* And now again once more, in the words of this verse, concluding therewith the whole discourse into which he had digressed, *Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.*

§. 2. The pertinency;

2. From which words, I desire it may be no prejudice to my present discourse, if I take occasion to entreat at this time of a very needful argument, viz. concerning the Necessity, Choice, and Use of particular Callings. Which whilst I do, if any shall blame me for shaking hands with my Text, let such know, First, that it will not be very charitably done, to pass a hard censure upon another's labour, no, nor yet very providently for their own good, to slight a profitable truth for some little seeming impertinency. Secondly, that the points proposed are indeed not impertinent: the last of them, which supposeth also the other two, being the very substance of this exhortation, and all of them such as may without much violence be drawn from the very words themselves, at leastwise if we may be allowed the liberty, which is but reasonable, to take in also the other two verses, the seventeenth and the twentieth, in sense and for substance all one with this, as anon in the several handling of them will in part appear. But howsoever, Thirdly, which St. Bernard deemed a sufficient

[a] ... ex incidenti dat generale documentum. Lyranus, ad vers. 17. [tom. vi. 251. Antv. 1617.]

[b] Quod, ut plene commendet, reiterat. Ambrosius, in 1 Cor. vii. [24. tom. ii. col. 135 E. Appendix, ed. Bened.]

apology for himself in a case of like nature, *Noverint me non tam intendisse, &c.*[c] let them know that, in my choice of this Scripture, my purpose was not so much to bind myself to the strict exposition of the Apostolical Text, as to take occasion therefrom to deliver what I desired to speak, and judged expedient for you to hear: concerning, first, the Necessity, secondly, the Choice, and thirdly, the Use of particular Callings.

§. 3. 3. Points, if ever needful to be taught and known, certainly, in these days most. Wherein some, habituated in idleness, will not betake themselves to any Calling, like a heavy jade,* that is good at bit, and nought else. These would be soundly spurred up, and whipped on end.† Other some, through weakness, do not make a good choice of a fit Calling, like a young unbroken thing that hath metal,‡ and is free, but is ever wrying the wrong way. These would be fairly checkt, turned into the right way, and guided with a steady and skilful hand. A third sort, and I think the greatest, through unsettledness, or discontentedness, or other untoward humour, walk not soberly, and uprightly, and orderly in their Calling, like an unruly colt, that will over hedge and ditch: no ground will hold him, no fence turn him. These would be well fettered and side-hanckled § for leaping. The first sort are to be taught the Necessity of a Calling; the second, to be directed for the Choice of their Calling; the third, to be bounded and limited in the Exercise of their Calling. Of which three in their order: and of the First, first; the Necessity of a Calling.

§. 4. The general and the particular Calling. 4. The Scriptures speak of two kinds of Vocations or Callings; the one, *ad Foedus*, the other, *ad Munus*. The usual known terms are, the general and the particular Calling. *Vocatio ad Foedus*, or the general Calling, is that wherewith

[c] Noverint [tamen qui me tanquam de otiosa et non necessaria explanatione suggillant,] non tam intendisse exponere Evangelium, quam ex Evangelio sumere occasionem loquendi quod loqui delectabat. Bernard. super [verba Evangelii,] *Missus est* [*Angelus Gabriel*, &c. Homil. iv. ad calcem. tom. i. col. 755 D. ed. Ben.]

* 'jade,' *horse*. Compare Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 6.

† 'on end,' *continually*. Cf. Sermon xiii. ad Aulam, §. 34.

‡ The distinction between 'metal' and 'mettle' was not observed with much exactness by our older Writers; e. g. Shakspeare, Twelfth Night, v. 1.

§ To 'hanckle' is to *entangle*, in the North of England. To tie any thing so tight, as to leave the impression of the cord, to gall with a rope or cord is to 'hankle' in Scotland. Jamieson. Compare 'hanck,' Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 43. Sermon vi. ad Populum, §. 38.

God calleth us, either outwardly in the ministry of His Word, or inwardly by the efficacy of His Spirit, or jointly by both, to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, and to the embracing of the Covenant of grace and of mercy and salvation by Jesus Christ. Which is therefore termed the general Calling: not for that it is of larger extent than the other, but because the thing whereunto we are thus called is one and the same, and common to all that are called. The same duties, and the same promises, and every way the same conditions. Here is no
Eph. iv. 4, 5. difference in regard of persons: but *one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one body, and one Spirit, even as* we *are* all *called in one hope of* our *Calling.* That's the general Calling. *Vocatio ad Munus,* our particular Calling, is that wherewith God enableth us, and directeth us, and putteth us on to some special course and condition of life, wherein to employ ourselves, and to exercise the gifts He hath bestowed upon us, to His glory, and the benefit of ourselves and others. And it is therefore termed a particular Calling, not as if it concerned not all in general, (for we shall prove the contrary anon,) but because the thing whereunto men are thus called is not one and the same to all, but differenced with much variety accord-
Verse 7. hic. ing to the quality of particular persons. *Alius sic, alius vero sic: Every man hath his proper gift of God; one man on*
Ibid. *this manner, another on that.* Here is ἴδιον χάρισμα: some called to be Magistrates, some Ministers, some Merchants, some Artificers, some one thing, some another, as to their particular Callings. But as to the general Calling, there is
S. Jude 3. κοινὴ σωτηρία, *the common Salvation:* all called to the same state of being the servants and children of God; all called to the performance of the same duties of servants, and to the expectation of the same inheritance of children; all called to be Christians. Of both which Callings, the general and particular, there is not, I take it, any where in Scripture mention made so expressly and together as in this passage of our Apostle, especially at the twentieth verse. *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.* Where, besides the matter, the Apostle's elegancy is observable in using the same word in both significations:[d] the Noun signifying the

[d] ἀνταπόκλασις. Piscator, hic. [Egregia ἀνταπόκλασις, nam *Liber-tus* hic dicitur, non qui manumissus est e servitute civili, sed qui libera-

particular, and the Verb the general Calling. *Let every one abide in the same calling wherein he was called,* bearing sense, as if the Apostle had said, Let every man abide in the same particular Calling, wherein he stood at the time of his general Calling. And the same, and no other, is the meaning of the words of my Text.

§. 5. A particular Calling

5. Whence it appeareth that the Calling my Text implieth, and wherein every man is here exhorted to abide, is to be understood of the particular, and not of the general Calling. And of this particular Calling it is we now intend to speak. And that in the more proper and restrained signification of it, as it importeth some settled course of life with reference to business, office, and employment: accordingly as we say a man is called to be a Minister, called to be a Lawyer, called to be a Tradesman, and the like. Although I cannot be ignorant that our Apostle, as the stream of his argument carried him, here taketh the word in a much wider extent, as including not only such special courses of life as refer to employment, but even all outward personal states and conditions of men whatsoever, whether they have such reference, or no: as we may say, a man is called to marriage or to single life, called to riches or poverty, and the like.

§. 6. necessary for all men,

6. But omitting this larger signification, we will hold ourselves, either only or principally, to the former, and by Calling understand a special, settled course of life, wherein mainly to employ a man's gifts and time for his own and the common good. The necessity whereof whilst we mention, you are to imagine not an absolute and positive, but a conditional and suppositive necessity. Not as if no man could be without one *de facto:* daily experience in these dissolute times manifesteth the contrary, but because *de jure* no man should be without one. This kind of Calling is indeed necessary for all men. But how? Not as a necessary thing *ratione termini,* so as the want thereof would be an absolute impossibility, but *virtute praecepti,* as a necessary duty, the neglect whereof would be a grievous and sinful enormity. He that will do that which he ought, and is in conscience bound to do, must of necessity live

tus est a servitute peccati: sic in membro sequente *Servus* dicitur non de conditione civili, sed de statu spirituali.]

in some Calling or other. That is it we mean by the Necessity of a Calling. And this Necessity we are now to prove.

§. 7. in respect of the Ordinance

7. And that, first, from the obedience we owe to every of God's Ordinances, and the account we must render for every of God's Gifts. Amongst those Ordinances this is one, and

Gen. iii. 19. one of the first, that in the sweat of our faces every man of us should eat our bread. The force of which precept let none think to avoid by a quirk, that forsooth it was laid upon Adam after his transgression, rather as a curse which he must endure, than as a duty which he should perform. For, first, as some of God's curses, such is His goodness, are promises as

Gen. iii. 15. well as curses, as is that of the enmity between the Woman's seed and the Serpent's, so some of God's curses, such is His Justice, are precepts as well as curses, as is that of the Woman's

Gen. iii. 16. Eph. v. 22. Col. iii. 18. 1 Tim. ii. 11, &c. subjection to the Man. This, of eating our bread in the sweat of our face, is all the three: it is a curse: it is a promise: it is a precept. It is a curse, in that God will not suffer the earth to afford us bread without our sweat. It is a promise, in that God assureth us we shall have bread for our sweat. And it is a precept too, in that God enjoineth us, if we will have bread, to sweat for it. Secondly, although it may not be gainsaid, but that that injunction to Adam was given as a curse, yet the substance of the injunction was not the thing wherein the curse did formally consist. Herein was the curse, that whereas, before the Fall, the task which God appointed man was with pleasure of body and content of mind,[e] without sweat of brow or brain, now, after the Fall, he was to toil and forecast for his living, with care of mind and travail of body,[f]

Eccl. xii. 12. Eccl. i. 14, 17. with weariness of flesh and vexation of spirit. But as for the substance of the injunction, which is that every man should have somewhat to do, wherein to bestow himself and his time and his gifts, and whereby to earn his bread, in this it appeareth not to have been a curse, but a precept of Divine institution, that Adam, in the time and state of innocency, before he

Gen. ii. 15. had deserved a curse, was yet enjoined his task, to dress and to keep the garden. And as Adam lived himself, so he bred

[e] Non erat laboris afflictio, sed exhilaratio voluntatis. Augustin. de Gen. ad Lit. viii. 8. [tom. iii. 231 G. ed. Ben. Paris. 1680.] ... non labore servili, sed honesta animi voluptate. ibid. c. 9. [232 F.]

[f] *Sore travail*, Eccl. i. 13. *Great travail and a heavy yoke*, Ecclus. xl. 1.

up his children. His two firstborn, though heirs apparent of all the world, had yet their peculiar employments, the one in tillage, the other in pasturage. And as many since as have walked orderly, have observed God's Ordinance herein, working with their hands the thing that is good in some kind or other: those that have set themselves in no such good way, our Apostle elsewhere justly blaming as inordinate or disorderly walkers.[g] And how can such disorderly ones hope to find approvance in the sight of our God, who is a God of Order? He commandeth us to live in a Calling, and woe to us if we neglect it.

Gen. iv. 2.

Eph. iv. 28.

8. But say there were no such express command for it: the very distribution of God's gifts were enough to lay upon us this necessity. Where God bestoweth, He bindeth; and to whom any thing is given, of him something shall be required. The inference is stronger than most are aware of, from the ability to the duty, from the gift to the work, from the fitting to the Calling. Observe how this Apostle knitteth them together at the seventeenth verse, *As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk.* God hath distributed to every man some proper gift or other; and therefore every man must glorify God in some peculiar Calling or other. And in Eph. iv, having alleged that of the Psalm, *He gave gifts unto men,* immediately he inferreth, *He gave some Apostles, some Prophets, &c.* as giving us to understand that for no other end God did bestow upon some Apostolical, upon others Prophetical, upon others gifts in other kinds, but that men should employ them, some in the Apostolical, some in the Prophetical, some in Offices and Callings of other kinds. And if we confess that Nature doth not,[h] we may not think the God of Nature doth bestow abilities whereof He intendeth not use; for that were to bestow them in vain.[i] Sith then He bestoweth gifts and graces, upon every man some or other, and none in vain, let every man take heed that he receive them not in vain: let every man beware of napkening up the talent which was delivered him to trade

§. 8. and Gifts of God;

S. Luke xii. 48.

Ps. lxviii. 18. Eph. iv. 8, &c.

S. Luke xix. 20.

[g] ἀτάκτως. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 11.

[h] Deus et Natura nihil faciunt frustra. [Οὐθὲν γάρ, ὡς φαμέν, μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ. Aristot. Polit. I. ii. 10. Bekker.]

[i] Frustra est potentia, quae non perducitur in actum. [Compare Sermon iv. ad Magistratum, §. 12.]

1 S. Pet. iv. 10. withal. Let all, *as every one hath received the gift,* even so *minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the*
1 Cor. xii. 7. *manifold graces* of God. The manifestation of the Spirit* being *given to every man to profit withal,* he that liveth unprofitably with it, and without a Calling, abuseth the intent of the Giver, and must answer for his abuse.

§. 9. 2°. of every man's self; 9. Secondly, the Necessity of a Calling is great in regard of a man's self; and that more ways than one. For man being by nature active, so as he cannot be long but he must be doing, he that hath no honest vocation to busy himself in, that hath nothing of his own to do, must needs, from doing nothing, proceed to doing naught. That saying of Cato was subscribed by the wiser Heathens as an oracle, *Nihil agendo male agere*
Ecclus. xxxiii. 27. *disces.*[k] *Idleness teacheth much evil,* saith the wise son of Sirach, nay, *all kind of evil,* as some Copies have it. It hath an ear open to every extravagant motion, it giveth entertainment to a thousand sinful fancies, it exposeth the soul to all the assaults of her ghostly enemies; and, whereas the devil's greatest business is to tempt other men, the idle man's only business is to tempt the devil. Experience of all histories and times showeth us what advantages the devil hath won upon godly and industrious men otherwise, as upon David, in the matter of Uriah, and many others, only by watching the opportunity of their idle hours, and plying them with suggestions of noisome lusts at such times as they had given themselves but some little intermission more than ordinary from their ordinary employments. How will he not then lead captive at his pleasure those, whose whole lives are nothing else but a long vacation, and their whole care nothing but to make up a number,[l] and to waste the good creatures of God? There is no readier sanctuary for thee then, good Christian, when the devil pursueth thee, than to betake thyself at once to prayer, and to the works of thy Calling.[m] Fly thither, and thou art safe, as in a castle. *Non licet* is a very good, and proper, and direct answer, when the devil would tempt thee to sin: it is

* So in all Edd. that I have seen. No Version exhibits the plural.

[k] Catonis oraculum, quo nihil verius. Columella, de Re Rust. xi. 1. [Nam illud verum est M. Catonis oraculum, Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt.]

[l] Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati. Horat. Epist. I. ii. [27.]

[m] ... res age, tutus eris. Ovid. Remed. Amoris. [144.]

evil, and I may not do it; but yet *Non vacat* is the stronger answer and surer: I am busy, and I cannot do it. That giveth him scope to reply; and it is not safe to hold argument with the devil upon any terms. He is a cunning sophister; and thou mayest be circumvented by a subtilty before thou art aware. But this stubborn and blunt answer cutteth off all reply, and dishearteneth the tempter for that time. It was St. Hierom's advice to his friend, *Semper boni aliquid operis facito, ut diabolus te semper inveniat occupatum,*[n] Be always doing something, that the devil may never find thee at leisure. There is no cross, no holy water, no exorcism so powerful to drive away and to conjure down the fiend, as employment is, and faithful labour in some honest Calling.

§. 10. 3°. of Justice; the idle person being a thief

10. Thirdly, Life must be preserved, families maintained, the poor relieved: this cannot be done without bread, for that is *the staff of life;* and bread cannot be gotten, or not honestly, but in a lawful vocation or calling. Which whoever neglecteth, is in very deed no better than a very thief:[o] the bread he eateth he cannot call his own. *We hear,* saith St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, *that there are some among you that walk inordinately,* and work not at all, but are busy-bodies. Them therefore that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread.* As if it were not their own bread, if not gotten with the work of their own hands, and in the sweat of their own faces. And again, writing to the Ephesians, *Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, &c.* If he will not steal, he must labour; and if he do not labour, he doth steal: steal from himself, steal from his family, steal from the poor.

Lev. xxvi. 26.

2 Thess. iii. 11, 12.

Eph. iv. 28.

§. 11. to himself,

11. He stealeth from himself, and so is a kind of *Felo de se.* Spend he must; and if there be no gettings to repair what is spent, the stock will shrink and waste, and beggary will be the end.[p] God hath ordained labour as a proper means

[n] Hieron. ad Rusticum, tom. i. Ep. 4. [Ep. 125. tom. i. 933 D. Vallars. Facito aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum.]

[o] *πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζώει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.* Phocylides. [143. See above, Sermon iii. §. 22.] *τὸ γὰρ κλέπτειν, ἀργίας ἐστίν.* Chrysost. in Eph. Hom. 2. [tom. xi. p. 13 C. ed. Ben.]

* *some, which walk among you inordinately.* Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva Bible.

[p] *λιμὸς γάρ τοι πάμπαν ἀεργῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρί.* Hesiod. in Ἔργ. [i. 300.]

whereby to obtain the good things of this life: without which, as there is no promise, so ordinarily there is no performance of those blessings of plenty and sufficiency. God hath a boun-
Ps. cxlv. 16. tiful hand: *He openeth it, and filleth all things living with plenteousness;* but, unless we have a diligent hand wherewith to receive it, we may starve. 'No mill,' we say, 'no meal.'[q] And he that by the sloth of his hands disfurnisheth himself of the means of getting, he is as near of kin to a waster as may
Prov. xviii. 9. be,—they may call brothers,—and it is but just if God's curse light upon him and that he hath, and bring him to want, it to nothing.

§. 12. to his Family,

12. He stealeth also from his family, which should eat the fruit of his labours. The painful housewife,—see in what a happy case her husband is, and her children, and her servants,
Prov. xxxi. 15, 21, 27, 28. and all that belong to her. They are not afraid of hunger, or cold, or any such thing: they are well fed, and well clad, and carefully looked unto. *Her husband praiseth her,* and her servants; and her children, when they have kneeled down and asked her blessing, *arise up, and call her blessed.* But the idle man that, for want of a course to live in, impoverisheth himself, and his family whom he is bound to maintain, is a burden to his friends, an eye-sore to his kindred, the shame of his name, the ruin of his house, and the bane of his posterity. He bequeatheth misery to his offspring instead of plenty: they that should fare the better for him, are undone by him; and he that should give his children God's blessing and his, pulleth
1 Tim. v. 8. upon himself God's curse and theirs. *If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is* in that respect even *worse than an infidel.* The very infidels take themselves bound to this care. Let not him that professeth the faith of Christ, by his supine carelessness this way, justify the infidel and deny the Faith.

§. 13. and to the Poor.

13. He stealeth also, which is the basest theft of all, from the poor, in robbing them of that relief which he should minister unto them out of his honest gettings, the overplus whereof is their proper revenue. The good housewife, of whom we
Prov. xxxi. 13. heard something already out of the thirty-first chapter of the
Verse 19. Proverbs, *seeketh wool and flax, layeth her hands to the*

[q] Qui vitat molam, vitat farinam. Adag. [Epitome. p. 270. Erasmus, Adag. Chil. iii. Cent. 3. 59.]

spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. But *cui bono,* and to what end, and for whose sake, all this? Not only for herself, *to make her coverings of tapestry,* though that also; nor yet only for her houshold, *to clothe them in scarlet,* though that also; but withal that she might have somewhat in her hands, *to reach out to the poor and needy;* like another Dorcas, to make *coats and garments* for them, that their loins might bless her. So every man should be painful and careful to get some of the things of this earth by his faithful labour, not as a foolish worldling, to make a Mammon of it, but, as a wise steward, to make him friends with it. So *distributing* it *to the necessities of* the poor *Saints,* that it may redound also upon the by to his own advantage: whilst sowing to them temporal things, the comfort of his alms, he reapeth in recompence of it their spiritual things, the benefit of their prayers. St. Paul exhorteth the Ephesians by word of mouth, and it was the very close of his solemn farewell, when he took his last leave of them, and should see their face no more, that *by their labour they ought to support the weak, and minister to the necessities of others; remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.* And, after his departure, he thought it needful for him to put them in mind of the same duty once again by letter: *Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.* Lay all this that I have now last said together, and say if you know a verier thief than the idle person, that stealeth from himself, and so is a foolish thief; stealeth from his family and friends, and so is an unnatural thief; stealeth from the poor, and so is a base thief.

Verse 22. Verse 21. Verse 20. Acts ix. 39. Job xxxi. 20. S. Luke xvi. 9. Rom. xii. 13. Acts xx. 35. Eph. iv. 28.

14. Fourthly, and lastly, a Calling is necessary in regard of the Public. God hath made us sociable creatures,[r] contrived us into policies, and societies, and commonwealths; made us fellow-members[s] of one body, and *every one another's members.** As therefore we are not born,[t] so neither must we live, to and for ourselves alone; but our parents, and friends, and

§. 14. 4°. of the Common-wealth. Rom. xii. 5.

[r] ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον. Aristot. Polit. I. ii. [9.]

[s] Membra sumus corporis magni. Seneca, Epist. 95.

* *every man* (*among ourselves*) *one another's members,* Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer. *each one another's members,* Rhemish.

[t] Non nobis solum nati sumus; sed partem patria, partem parentes,

acquaintance, nay, every man of us hath a kind of right and interest in every other man of us, and our Country and the Commonwealth in us all.[u] And as in the artificial body of a clock one wheel moveth another, and each part giveth and receiveth help to and from other, and as in the natural body
Rom. xii. 4. of a man, consisting of many members, all the members *have not the same office,* for that would make a confusion, yet there is no member in the body so mean or small, but hath its proper faculty, function, and use, whereby it becometh useful to the whole body, and helpful to its fellow-members in the body, so should it be in the civil body of the State, and in the mystical body of the Church. Every man should *conferre aliquid in publicum,* put to his helping hand to advance the common good, employ himself some way or other, in such sort, as he may be serviceable to the whole body, and profitable to his fellow-members in the body.[x] For which reason the ancient renowned Commonwealths were so careful to ordain, that no man should live but in some profession, and to take district* examination who did otherwise; and to punish them, some with fasting, some with infamy, some with banishment, yea, and some with death. The care of the Indians, Aegyptians, Athenians, and other herein, Historians relate,[y] and I omit. It were to be wished that Christian Commonwealths

&c. Cicero, ex Platonis Epist. 9. [de Offic. i. 22. non nobis solis nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem amici. None of the Epistles which bear the name of Plato are considered genuine. Ast is disposed to allow that the Seventh and Eighth may have been written by his Disciples. Platon's Leben u. Schriften, pp. 504—530.]

[u] In commune nati sumus. Seneca, Epist. 95. ... οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ τινὰ εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως. Aristot. Polit. VIII. i. [4.]

[x] μόριον γὰρ ἕκαστος τῆς πόλεως. Ἡ δ' ἐπιμέλεια πέφυκεν ἑκάστου μορίου βλέπειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιμέλειαν. Aristot. ibid.

* 'district.' See above, Sermon i. §. 11. and Sermon iv. ad Magistr. §. 28.

[y] See Valer. Max. ii. 6. [3.] Patricius de Instit. Reip. i. 8. [Gymnosophistae nudi illi sapientes, qui in India degebant, nihil magis odio prosequendum arbitrabantur, quam segnitiem ac torporem animi. Quocirca antequam epularentur, adolescentes ad mensam devocabant, ab eisque rationem exigebant quid officii, quidve negotii per diem peregisset, et illis solis esculenta apponebant, quorum industriam comprobabant ..... Inter severissimas Draconis leges, illa etiam fuit, ut otii damnati capite punirentur.... Scribit etiam Diodorus legem fuisse apud Aegyptios, qua singuli cogebantur nomina sua apud praesides profiteri, et qua arte quove lucro viverent, ostendere: et si qui mentirentur, aut injusto quaestu viverent, capite damnabantur.] Chassanaeus, Catalog. Gloriae Mundi, Par. xi. [De Plebeiis, Artificibus, seu Opificibus; et de Laudibus eorum.]

would take some greater care, if but from their example, to rid themselves of such unnecessary burdens as are good for nothing but to devour the fruits of the land; and either force these drones[z] to take pains for their living, or else thrust them out of the hives for their idleness.

§. 15. A just Reproof of idle

15. Which course if it were taken, what would become of many thousands in the world, *quibus anima pro sale?** who like swine live in such sensual and unprofitable sort, as we might well doubt whether they had any living souls in their bodies at all or no, were it not barely for this one argument, that their bodies are a degree sweeter than carrion. I mean all such, of what rank and condition soever they be, as for want of a calling misspend their precious time, bury their Master's talent, waste God's good creatures, and wear away themselves in idleness, without doing good to themselves, to their friends, to human society. Infinite is the number of such unprofitable burdens of the earth;[a] but there are, amongst other, three sorts of them especially, whereof the world ringeth, and such as a man that hath to speak of this argument can scarce balk† without some guilt of unfaithfulness. It is no matter how you rank them, for there is never a better of the three. And therefore take them hand over head as they come: they are Monks, Gallants, and Rogues.

§. 16. Monks; with the limitation,

16. First those, *κακὰ θηρία, evil beasts, slow bellies*, stall-fed Monks and Friars, who live mued‡ up in their cells and cloi-

[z] [Τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἀνέρες] ὅς κεν ἀεργὸς ζώῃ, κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις ἴκελος ὁρμήν, Οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοί, Ἐσθόντες. Hesiod. in Ἔργ. [i. 301–4.] ... ὡς ἐν κηρίῳ κηφὴν ἐγγίγνεται, σμήνους νόσημα, οὕτω καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν οἰκίᾳ, κηφῆνα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, νόσημα πόλεως. Plato, Polit. viii. [6. p. 552 C.]

* '*quibus anima pro sale.*' Inter proverbia recensetur Varronianum illud: Animam suibus datam esse pro sale. De Re Rust. ii. 4. Certe non sine venere dicetur de ventrionibus Catianae scholae deditis, qui noctes diesque curandae cuticulae incumbunt, corpusque porcorum more saginant. Cf. Plin. H. N. viii. 51. Cic. de Fin. v. 38. Apparet autem dictum istud a Cleanthe manasse; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. Διὸ καὶ Κλεάνθης φησίν, ἀνθ' ἁλῶν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τὴν ψυχήν, ἵνα μὴ σαπῇ τὰ κρέα. Hadr. Junius, Adag. Cent. ix. 22.

[a] ... ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης. Homer. Il. 6. [xviii. 104.] ... λῆροι εἰσὶ, γῆς ἄχθη. [ἀγάλλονται γὰρ τῷ ὀνείδει, καὶ οἴονται ἀκούειν ὅτι οὐ] λῆροι εἰσί, γῆς [ἄλλως] ἄχθη, [ἀλλ' ἄνδρες οἵους δεῖ ἐν πόλει τοὺς σωθησομένους.] Plato, in Theaet. [85. p. 176 D.]

† 'balk.' Compare Sermon i. ad Populum, §. 13.

‡ 'mued,' *encaged, cooped up*, as in Shakspeare, K. Richard III. i. 2. from the French *muer*, to moult. Blount's Glossographia thus explains the substantive 'Mue.' 'A kind of cage, where hawks are win-

sters, like boars in a frank,* pining themselves into lard, and beating down their bodies till their girdles crack. I quarrel not† the first institution and original of these kind of men, which was then excusably good, the condition of those times considered, and might yet be tolerably followed even in these times, if those gross superstitions and foul abuses, which in process of time have adhered, and are by long and universal custom grown almost essential thereunto, could be fairly removed. But Monkery was not then that thing which it is now.[b] There was not then that opinion of sanctity and perfection, in the choice; that imposition of unlawful, unnatural, and, to some men, impossible Vows, in the entrance; that clog of ridiculous habits and ceremonies, and regular irregular observances, in the use; that heavy note of apostasy upon such as altered their course, in the loose: all which now there are. Those, by their fastings, and watchings, and devotions, and charity, and learning, and industry, and temperance, and unaffected austerity, and strictness of life, won from many of the ancient Fathers, as appeareth in their writings, ample and large testimonies of their virtue and piety. And that most deservedly: although their willingness, out of a zealous desire to excite others to the imitation of their virtues, to set forth their praises in the highest panegyric strains they could, drew from their pens now and then such hyperbolical excesses, *in modo loquendi*, as gave occasion to those superstitions in after ages, which they then never dreamed of. But such were those Monks of old: so good, so godly. Whereas these of later times,[c] by their affected, absurd habits, and gestures, and

tered, or kept when they mue or change their feathers; whence those great stables belonging to Whitehall took denomination, that place having been anciently full of Mues, where the King's hawks were kept.'

* 'a frank,' a place to fatten boars in, *a sty*. Shakspeare, 2 Henry IV. ii. 2. 'Where sups he? doth the old boar feed in the old frank?'

† 'I quarrel not.' Compare Sermon iii. ad Magistr. §. 13.

[b] Incredibile dictu est, quantum a majoribus suis degeneraverint. Polydore Vergil, Hist. Angl. vi.

[c] Vid. Erasm. in Adag. Monacho indoctior. [I have not found these words in the Adagia. In his Epistles Erasmus not infrequently speaks of the ignorance of the Monks in language very much like that of Sanderson, e. g. xxiv. 21. Fere fit, ut quo quisque indoctior stupidiorque est, hic in isto vitae instituto pluris habeatur.] Nicolas de Clemang. de corrupto Eccl. Statu capp. 21–23. [xxi. 1.... ita ut nihil illis aeque odiosum sit, quam cella et claustrum, lectio et oratio, regula et religio; quocirca Monachi quidem sunt exteriori habitu, sed vita, sed operibus, sed internae conscientiae

rules; by their gross and dull ignorance; by their insufferable pride, though pretending humility; and their more than Pharisaical overlooking of others; by their insatiable avarice, and palpable arts of getting into their hands the fattest of the earth, and that under colour of Religion, and pretences of poverty; by their sensual wallowing in all ease and idleness and fulness of bread, and (the fruits of these) in abominable and prodigious filthiness and luxury; became as proverbs and as by-words in the mouths and pens of men of all sorts. No sober writer almost of any note, even in those darker times, but noted and bewailed the corrupt estate of the Church and Clergy in that behalf; for by this time, you must know, these drones had thrust themselves, against all reason and common sense, into the rank of Churchmen, and shrouded themselves under the title of the Clergy. Divers godly and learned men wrote against the abuses,[d] desired a reformation, laboured to

spurcitia, a perfectione, quam habitus ille demonstrat, longissime disjuncti. xxiii. 2. Nam quid, obsecro, aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quaedam, non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris exsecranda prostibula? sed lascivorum et impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula, ut idem hodie sit puellam velare, quod et publice ad scortandum exponere. pp. 19, 22. Opp. ed. Lydii. Lugd. Bat. 1613. This tract was published separately by Leon. Hutter, at Wittenberg, in 1608. Nicol. de Clemangis, Rector of the University of Paris, and Secretary to Benedict XIII, died about 1440.] Camden. in Brit. p. 766. [de Comitatu Down in Hibernia.] Fr. Modius in lib. de Ordin. Eccles. [e. g. de Injesuatorum Ordine. sign. L.

Nempe haec vita fuit priscis, qui luce docebant,
Et faciendo operi tempora nocte dabant.]

Polydore Vergil, de Invent. vii. 4. [p. 441. Elzev. 1671.] Alvar. Pelag. de Planct. Eccl. lib. 2. [Artic.] 73, 83, &c. Palingen. in Leo. Virg. Sagittar. &c. [in Zodiaco Vitae. The first of these passages may suffice as a specimen of the Author's style. Leo. lib. v. pp. 102, 3. Basil. 1563.

Sed tua praecipue non intret limina quisquam
Frater, vel monachus, vel quavis lege sacerdos:
Hos fuge; pestis enim nulla hac immanior. Hi sunt
Faex hominum, fons stultitiae, sentina malorum,
Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, falsa sub imagine recti
Decipiunt stolidos, ac religionis in umbra
Mille actus vetitos, et mille piacula condunt:
Raptores, moechi, puerorum corruptores,
Luxuriae atque gulae famuli, caelestia vendunt.
Heu quas non nugas, quae non miracula fingunt,
Ut vulgus fallant, optataque praemia carpant.

[d] Ricard. Armachanus; [Fitz-Ralph, ob. 1359. in Defensorio Curatorum adversus eos qui Privilegiatos se dicunt. Paris. 1625.] Guil. de S. Amore; [ob. 1272. de Periculis novissimorum Temporum, et Collect. S. Scripturae .... contra Pericula imminentia Ecclesia generali per Hypocritas, Pseudo-praedicatores, et Penetrantes domos, et Otiosos, et Curiosos, et Gyrovagos. Opp. Constantiae, 1632.] Nic. de

have Monkery reduced, if not to the first institution, (there seemed to be little hope of that, things were so far out of course,) yet at leastwise to some tolerable expression of it. The Poets wanted no sport the while; who made themselves bitterly merry with descanting upon the lean skulls, and the fat paunches of these lazy gutlings:[e] there was fleshhold enough for the rhyming Satyrists and the Wits of those times, whereon to fasten the sorest and the strongest teeth they had.

§. 17. and Explication.

17. Not to insist upon other differences, that which concerneth the point we have in hand argueth a manifest and wide declination in these kind of men from their primitive purity. The ancient Monks lived upon the labour of their hands,[f] and thereby not only maintained themselves, which they might do with a very little in that course of abstinence and austerity wherein they lived, but relieved many others, and did many pious and charitable works, out of that they had earned with their fingers. And when, about St. Augustin's and St. Hierome's times, Monks began to relish ease, and, under pretence of reading and prayer, to leave off working, and to live upon the sweat of other men's brows, both those good Fathers misliked it: St. Hierome to Rusticus alleging the laudable custom of the Monasteries in Aegypt,[g] which admitted none to be Monks but with express condition of labour; and St. Augustine, in a just Treatise,[h] * opposing it not without some bitterness, rebuking them as contumacious and peevishly perverse[i] who,

Clemangis; [See above, in note [c].] Rob. Abbas Molismensis; [i. e. of Molesme in Burgundy. He founded, in 1098, the Cistercian Order, at Citeaux, (*Cistercium*) in the Diocese of Chalons.] &c.

[e] O Monachi, vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi, &c. [Vos estis, Deus est testis, teterrima pestis. Varia doctorum piorumque Virorum de corrupto Ecclesiae statu Poemata, cum praefatione M. Flacii Illyrici. Basil. 1556. 8°. p. 485. In Sir Alex. Croke on Rhyming Latin Verse, p. 21. O Walachi, &c. In his Epistles Erasmus frequently uses Ventres for Monks.]

[f] Vide de Aegyptiorum Monachis. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 8. [tom. vii. 127 C. ed. Ben. *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ νηστεύουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν, ἀργεῖν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀξιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν νύκτας τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις καὶ ταῖς παννυχίσι, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας εἰς εὐχάς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίαν καταναλίσκουσι, τὸν ἀποστολικὸν μιμούμενοι ζῆλον.*]

[g] Aegyptiorum Monasteria hunc ordinem [morem Vallarsi.] tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, [non tam propter victus necessitatem, quam propter animae salutem.] Hieron. tom. i. Epist. 4. [125. tom. i. 934 C. ed. Vallars.]

[h] tom. iii. libro de opere Monachorum. [vi. 475–504, ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

* 'just treatise.' Compare Sermon xi. ad Aulam, §. 30.

[i] Qui autem se dicunt vacare lectioni, nonne illic inveniunt quod praecipit Apostolus? Quae est ista

reading in the Scriptures, that he that will not labour should not eat, do yet resist the Apostle's admonition, and under pretence that they may have leisure to read, refuse to obey what they do read. But ease is pleasing to flesh and blood,[k] and will not be easily wrung from those that have any while given themselves to it, especially when it can pretend the face and colour of Religion. So that for all this the humour still increased and spread, till at length there grew whole Orders of disorderly Mendicants, begging, runagate Friars, who, by their affected poverty, diverting the charity of well-minded people from those that were truly poor, enriched themselves with the spoils of the poor; and, under colour of long prayers, made a prey, not now, as those craving Pharisees of old whose simplicity they pity, of widows' houses, but of goodly lordships and whole countries before them. It is well known in this our land, how both Church and Commonwealth groaned under the burden of these heavy lubbers: the Commonwealth, whilst they became lords of very little less, by their computation who have travailed in the search, than the one half of the temporalties of the Kingdom; and the Church, whilst they ingrossed into their hands the fruits of most of the best benefices in the Realm, allowing scarce so much as the chaff towards the maintenance of those that trod out the corn. Their profession is, God be thanked, now long since suppressed, and their habitations demolished, by the violent and Jehu-like* reformation of a mighty King; and the land by that means well purged of these overspreading locusts. There is nothing of them now remaineth, but the rubbish of their nests and the stink of their memory, unless it be the sting of their devilish sacrilege in robbing the Church by damnable impropriations.†

S. Matthew xxiii. 14.

1 Cor. ix. 9.

ergo perversitas, lectioni nolle obtemperare, dum vult ei vacare; et ut quod bonum est diutius legatur, ideo facere nolle quod legitur? de Opere Monachorum. cap. 17. [tom. vi. 489 F.

[k] σχολὴ τερπνὸν κακόν. Eurip. Hippolyt. [384.]

* 'violent and Jehu-like.' Fuller, Church Hist. V. xvi. 5. 16. in closer adherence to the original history than Sanderson, says: 'Herein he appeared like to Jehu, King of Israel, who utterly rooted out the foreign idolatry, ... but still worshipped the calves in Dan and Bethel, the State-idolatry of the Kingdom: so our Henry, though banishing all outlandish superstition of Papal dependence, still reserved and maintained home-bred Popery, persecuting the refusers to submit thereunto.' A comparison, which, as Mr. Brewer points out, had been previously made by Calvin.

† 'impropriation,' in strictness,

§. 18. 2°. Gallants; with the limitation.

18. But let them go. The next we meet withal are those, with whose either birth, or breeding, or estate it sorteth not, as they think, to be tied to labour in any vocation. It is the sin of many of the gentry, whom God hath furnished with means and abilities to do much good, to spend their whole days and lives in an unprofitable course of doing either nothing, or as good as nothing, or worse than nothing.[1] I cannot be so either stupid, as not to apprehend, or rigorous, as not to allow, a difference in the manner of employment, and in other circumstances thereto belonging, between those that are nobly or generously born and bred, and those of the meaner and ordinary rank. Manual and servile and mechanic trades and arts are for men of a lower condition. But yet no man is born, no man should be bred, unto idleness. There are generous and ingenuous and liberal employments, sortable to the greatest births and educations. For some man whom God hath blessed with power and authority in his country, with fair livings and large revenues, with a numerous family of servants, retainers, and tenants, and the like, it may be a sufficient Calling, and enough to take up his whole time, even to keep hospitality, and to order and overlook his family, and to dispose of his lands and rents, and to make peace, and preserve love and neighbourhood among them that live near or under him. He that

is the annexing of an Ecclesiastical benefice to the use of a lay person or corporation; as 'appropriation' is the annexing of a benefice to the proper and perpetual use of some religious house, Bishopric, College, or spiritual person, to enjoy for ever. But Sanderson seems here to have meant the transference of the property of the Secular Clergy into the hands of the Monastic Orders. In the address from the Clergy to Q. Elizabeth, in 1588, it was stated, that Impropriations carried from the Clergy in tithes yearly an hundred thousand pounds: the lands holden of abbies, priories, &c. at their dissolution freed from tithes, remaining so, almost as much. Bp. Bull agreed with those who 'esteemed it the great blemish of the happy Restoration, that there was not sufficient care taken at that time of the interest of the Church of England, in respect of the revenues of it. All the impropriations might easily have been purchased in those days when the national funds were all clear, and such vast arrears in all Bishoprics, as, if laid out in that use, would very much have lessened the number of them.' Life, p. 368. ed. Burton. Compare Hacket's second Sermon on the Coronation, Century of Sermons, pp. 721, 722; and Whitgift's letter to the Bishop of Ely, in 1575, on the need of great wariness in dealing with impropriations, lest 'the Clergy only should be plagued, while temporal men still kept their interests unharmed.' Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, i. 145. 8°.

[1] Πολλὰ πιών, καὶ πολλὰ φαγών, καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν Ἀνθρώπους, κεῖμαι Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος. Epitaph. Timocreontis, ap. Athen. Deipnos. [x. 9. p. 415 f.]

doth but this as he ought to do, or is otherwise industrious for the common good,[m] must be acknowledged a worthy member of the Commonwealth; and his course of life, a Calling, although perhaps not so toilsome, yet *in suo genere* as necessary and profitable, as that of the Husbandman, Merchant, Lawyer, Minister, or any other.

§. 19. Explication

19. But for our mere or parcel* Gallants, who live in no settled course of life, but spend half the day in sleeping, half the night in gaming, and the rest of their time in other pleasures and vanities, to as little purpose as they can devise, as if they were born for nothing else but to eat and drink, and snort and sport, who are spruce and trim as the lilies,—Solomon in all his royalty† was not clothed like one of these,—S. Matt. vi. 29. yet they neither sow, nor reap, nor carry into the barn, they neither labour nor spin, nor do any thing else for the good of human society: let them know, there is not the poorest contemptible creature, that crieth oysters and kitchen-stuff in the streets, but deserveth his bread better than they; and his course of life is of better esteem with God and every sober wise man, than their's. A horse that is neither good for the way, nor the cart, nor the race, nor the wars, nor any other service, let him be of never so good a breed,[n] never so well marked and shaped, yet he is but a jade:‡ his Master setteth no store by him, thinketh his meat ill-bestowed on him: every man will say, better knock him on the head than keep him: his skin, though not much worth, is yet better worth than the whole beast besides.

§. 20. and Exhortation.

20. Consider this, you that are of noble or generous birth. *Look unto the rock, whence you were hewn;* and to the pit,

[m] Non otiose vivit, qui qualitercunque utiliter. Aquinas, Sec. Sec. Quaest. 187. art. 5. ad 2 Sec.

* 'parcel,' *partial, partly.* 'A parcel-gilt goblet.' Shakspeare, Second part of Henry IV. ii. 1. 'This is a parcel Prayer-book.' Beaumont and Fletcher, The Wild-goose Chase, ii. 3. Parcel-Poet occurs frequently in Ben Jonson. See below, §. 28.

† 'royalty.' So in Tyndale, Cranmer, Taverner, and Parker: *glory*, in the Geneva, Rhemish, and Authorized Version, is a return to Wycliffe.

[n] Nempe volucrem Sic laudamus equum ..... Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine.... Sed venale pecus Corythae, posteritas et Hirpini, si rara jugo victoria sedit. Nil ibi majorum respectus, gratia nulla Umbrarum: dominos pretiis mutare jubentur Exiguis. Juvenal. Sat. viii. [57–66.]

‡ 'a jade.' See above, §. 3, and Sermon i. ad Magist. §. 6.

whence you were digged. Search your pedigrees, collect the scattered monuments and histories of your ancestors, and observe by what steps your worthy progenitors raised their houses to the height of gentry or nobility. Scarce shall you find a man of them that gave any accession, or brought any noted eminency, to his house, but either serving in the Camp, or sweating at the Bar, or waiting at the Court, or adventuring on the Seas, or trucking in his Shop, or some other way industriously bestirring himself in some settled Calling and course of life.[o] You usurp their arms, if you inherit not their virtues; and those ensigns of honour and gentry[p] which they by industry achieved, sit no otherwise upon your shoulders than as rich trappings upon asses' backs, which serve but to render the poor beast more ridiculous. If you, by brutish sensuality, and spending your time in swinish luxury, stain the colours and embase the metals of those badges of your gentry and nobility which you claim by descent, think, when we worship or honour you,* we do but flout you;[q] and know, the titles we in courtesy give you,[r] we bestow upon their memories whose degenerate offspring you are, and whose arms you unworthily bear; and they do no more belong to you, than the reverence the good man did to Isis belonged to the ass that carried her image.[s]

§. 21. 3°. Beggars, with the limitation

21. The third sort of those that live unprofitably and without a Calling, are our idle sturdy Rogues and vagrant town's-end Beggars, the very scabs, and filth, and vermin of the Commonwealth. I mean such as have health, and strength, and limbs, and are in some measure able to work and take pains for their living, yet rather choose to wander abroad the country, and to spend their days in a most base and ungodly course of life; and, which is yet more lamentable, by I know not what connivance, contrary to all Conscience, Equity, and Law, are suffered. All Christian Commonwealths should be

[o] *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὢν ῥάθυμος εὐκλεὴς ἀνὴρ, Ἀλλ' οἱ πόνοι τίκτουσι τὴν εὐδοξίαν.* Eurip. [Archelaus, Fragm. vii.]

[p] Effigies quo Tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox Ante Numantinos? Juvenal, Sat. viii. [9.]

* i. e. address you as Your Worship, or Your Honour.

[q] Nanum cujusdam, Atlanta vocamus; Aethiopem cygnum. Juvenal, Ibid. [32.]

[r] .. honores, Quos illis damus, et dedimus, quibus omnia debes. Juvenal, Ibid. [70.]

[s] Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui Indignus genere? Ibid. [30.]

the Israels of God; and in His Israel, God, as He promised there should be some always poor, on whom to exercise charity, so He ordained there should be no beggar,[t] to make a trade and profession of begging. Plato, than whom never any laid down a more exact idea of an happy Commonwealth, alloweth not any beggar therein,[u] alleging, that where such were tolerated, it was impossible but the State must abound with pilfering and whoring and all kind of base villany.[x] The Civil Laws have flat constitutions against them, in the titles *De mendicantibus non invalidis.*[y] But I think never Kingdom had more wholesome Laws in both kinds, I mean both for the competent relief of the orderly poor, and for sharp restraint of disorderly vagabonds, than those provisions which in many of our own memories have been made in this land. But *Quid leges sine moribus . . .?*[z] Those Laws are now no Laws, for want of due execution; but beggars are beggars still, for want of due correction. *Et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur:*[a] the saying is truer of rogues and gypsies in England, than ever it was of mathematicians in Rome. You, to whose care the preservation of the Justice, and thereby also of the Peace of the land, is committed, as you tender the Peace and Justice of the land, as you tender your own quiet and the safety of your neighbours, as you tender the weal of your country and the honour of God, breathe fresh life into the languishing Laws by severe execution; be rather cruel to these vipers than to the State. So shall you free us from the plague, and yourselves from the guilt, and them from the opportunities, of infinite sinful abominations.

Gal. vi. 15. S. Matthew xxvi. 11.

22. But we are unreasonable to press you thus far, or to seek to you or any others for Justice in this matter, having power enough in our own hands to do ourselves justice upon these men, if we would but use it. Even by making a strait covenant with our ears, not to heed them; and with our eyes,

§. 22. and Remedy.

[t] As some understand that in Deut. xv. 4. [Marginal Rendering.]

[u] Πτωχὸς μηδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω. Plato de Leg. xi. [14. p. 936 C.]

[x] ἐν πόλει οὗ ἂν ἴδῃς πτωχούς, ὅτι εἰσί που ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἀποκεκρυμμένοι κλέπται τε καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἱερόσυλοι καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν δημιουργοί. Id. de Rep. viii. [6. p. 552. C.]

[y] Cod. Justin. lib. xi. Tit. 25. [de Mendicantibus validis.] et Cod. Theod. 14. Tit. 11.

[z] Hor. Carm. III. xxiv. [35.]

[a] Tacit. Hist. i. [22.]

not to pity them; and with our hands, not to relieve them. Say I this altogether of myself? or saith not the Apostle even
2 Thess. iii. 10. the same? He that will not labour, let him not eat: relieve him not. But hath not Christ required us to feed the hungry, and to clothe the naked, and to be free and charitable to the poor? Nothing surer. God forbid any man should preach against charity and almsdeeds. But remember, that as God
1 Cor. xiii. 3. approveth not alms or any other work, if without charity, so
1 Tim. v. 5, 6. nor charity itself, if without discretion. *Honour widows*, saith St. Paul, but those *that are widows indeed:* so relieve the poor, but relieve those that are poor indeed. Not every one that asketh, not every one that wanteth, nay more, not every one that is poor, is poor indeed; and he that in his indiscreet and misguided charity should give to every one that asketh, or wanteth, or is poor, meat, or clothing, or alms, would soon make himself more hungry, and naked, and poor, than he that is most hungry, or naked, or poor. The poor, whom Christ commendeth to thee as a fit object for thy charity, the poor indeed, are those that want not only the things they ask, but want also means to get without asking. A man that is blind, or aged, and past his work; a man that is sick, or weak, or lame, and cannot work; a man that desireth it, and seeketh it, and cannot get work; a man that hath a greater charge upon him than his honest pains can maintain; such a man as one of these, he is poor indeed. Let thine ears be open, and thine eyes open, and thy bowels open, and thy hands open, to such a
Phil. iv. 18. one: it is a charitable deed, and a *sacrifice of sweet smelling.*
Heb. xiii. 16. *With such sacrifices God is well pleased.* Forget not thou to offer such sacrifices upon every good opportunity; and be well assured God will not forget in due time to reward thee. But for a lusty, able, upright man, as they style him in their own dialect, that had rather beg, or steal, or both, than dig, he is no more to be relieved as a poor man than a woman that hath poisoned her husband is to be honoured as a widow. Such a woman is a widow, for she hath no more an husband than any other widow hath; but such a woman is not a widow indeed,[b] as St. Paul would be understood, not such a widow as he would have honoured: it is alms to hang up such a widow,

[b] 1 Tim. v. Compare verse 3, with verses 5 and 16.

rather than to honour her. And I dare say, he that helpeth one of these sturdy beggars to the stocks, and the whip, and the house of correction, not only deserveth better of the Commonwealth, but doth a work of greater charity in the sight of God, than he that helpeth him with meat, and money, and lodging. For he that doth this, corrupteth his charity by a double error. First, he maintaineth, and so encourageth, the other in idleness, who, if none would relieve him, would be glad to do any work rather than starve. And secondly, he disableth his charity, by misplacing it, and unawares robbeth the poor, whilst he thinketh he relieveth them. As he that giveth any honour to an idol robbeth the true God, to whom alone all religious honour is due, so he that giveth any alms to an idle beggar robbeth the truly poor,[c] to whom properly all the fruits of our alms are due. And so it cometh to pass oftentimes, as St. Ambrose sometimes complained, that the maintenance of the poor is made the spoil of the loiterer.[d]

§ 23. The conclusion of the first point.

23. But I forget myself, and you, and the time, whilst I give way to my just indignation against these base excrements of the Commonwealth. You have seen the Necessity of a Calling: without it, we despise God's ordinance, and smother His gifts, we expose ourselves to sinful temptations, we deprive ourselves, our families, and the poor of due maintenance, we withdraw our bounden service from the Commonwealth. It is not the pretence of devotion that can exempt the lazy Monk, nor of birth, the riotous Gallant, nor of want, the able Beggar, nor of any other thing, any other man, from this common Necessity. And that is the sum of our first point, viz. the Necessity of a Calling. Proceed we now to the second, the Choice of a Calling.

§. 24. The choice of a Calling.

24. A point indeed, I must confess, not directly intended in the words of my Text; yet being after a sort implied therein, (for the Apostle's wish, that every particular man would abide in his own proper station and particular Calling, cannot but imply that there is a difference and choice of such Callings,) and being withal a matter of such great consequence to be

[c] Pars sacrilegii est, rem pauperum dare non pauperibus. Hieron. ad Pammach. Epist. 26. [66. tom. i. 397 B. ed. Vallars.]

[d] Neque transcribatur vita pauperum in spolia fraudulentorum. Ambrosius, de Offic. Minist. ii. 16. [tom. ii. col. 88 C. ed. Bened.]

taught and known, I thought it would be more expedient for the present discharge of my duty in this place to take it in, though with some hazard of the imputation of impertinency to myself, than, by passing it over, to defraud them (and it is likely there are many such here present) whom it may concern in point of conscience, of such instructions as may give them profitable directions in a business so material. Concerning which, it behoveth every man the rather to have an especial care, because much of a man's comfort and content in this life dependeth thereupon. It being scarce possible, that that man's life should be comfortable to him, or he go on with any cheerfulness in his course, that liveth in a Calling for which neither he is fit, nor the Calling fit for him.[e] Neither will the consideration hereof be useful only for such as are yet free to choose, but even for those also who have already made their choice. For, since the very same rules which are to direct us in the Choice of our Calling are to help us also for the Trial of our Callings, it can be no loss to the best of us all to give heed to those Rules, thereby either to rectify our choice, or to quicken our alacrity in what we have chosen, by warranting our courses to our own souls, and silencing many unnecessary scruples, which are wont frequently to arise concerning this matter in the consciences of men.

§. 25. That is our proper Calling, whereunto God calleth us:

25. And first, we are to lay this as a firm ground, that that is every man's proper and right Calling whereunto God calleth him. For He is the Author, as of our general, so of our particular Callings too: *As the Lord hath called every one*, verse 20. When, therefore, we speak of the choice of a Calling, you are not so to understand it, as if it were left free for us ever to make our choice where, and as we list. The choice that is left to us, is nothing but a conscionable inquiry which way God calleth us, and a conscionable care to take that way. So that if it shall once appear that God calleth us this way or that way, there is[f] no more place for choice: all that we have to do is to obey. *Obsequium sufficit esse meum.*[g] The inquiries we are to make, ordinarily, are, as you shall hear anon, what lawfulness there is in the thing, what abilities there are in us,

[e] [καὶ ὑποδήματα, καὶ] βίος ἁρμόζων, ἀλυπότερος. Socratis dictum ap. Stobaeum. Serm. [3. 44. Gaisford.]

[f] .... mortalia quaerunt Consilium; certus jussa capesse Dei. Ausonius, [Praefatiuncula Prima,] Theodosio. [7.]

[g] Ausonius, ib. [14.]

what warrant we have from without. But all these must cease, when God once expresseth Himself, and calleth us with an audible voice. No more inquiry then into the thing, how lawful it is. If God bid Peter *kill and eat*, and send him to preach unto the Gentiles, there is no answering Μηδαμῶς, Κύριε, *Not so, Lord,* nor alleging the uncleanness of the meat, or the unlawfulness of going into the way of the Gentiles. *Injusta justa habenda:* what God will have clean, he must not account common. His very call to any thing maketh it lawful. No more inquiry into ourselves, how able we are. If God call Moses, one of a slow speech, and not eloquent, from the sheep-fold, to plead for his people before a tyrant; or Gideon, a mean stripling, of a small family and tribe, from the threshing-floor, to deliver Israel out of the hands of the oppressors; or Jeremy, a very child, and one that could not speak, from his cottage in Anathoth, to set him over nations and kingdoms, to root out and to plant; or Amos, a plain country fruit-gatherer, from the herd in Tekoah, to prophesy at Bethel, and in the King's Court, it is a fruitless and unseasonable modesty to allege unsufficiency or unworthiness. *Juvat idem Qui jubet.*[h] Where He setteth on work, He giveth strength to go through with it. His very calling of any man maketh him able. No more inquiry into outward means, what warrant we have. If God call Paul to be an Apostle, and to bear His Name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the children of Israel, it is needless to confer with flesh and blood, or to seek confirmation at Jerusalem from them which were Apostles before him, by the imposition of their hands. God's work in him supplieth abundantly the want of those solemnities; and Paul is as good an Apostle as the best of them, although he be *an Apostle, not of men, neither by man.* God's calling any man to any office sealeth his warrant. *Non tutum renuisse Deo.*[i] Away with all excuses and pretences and delays. When God calleth, submit thy will, subdue thy reason, answer His call, as Samuel was taught to do: *Speak Lord, for Thy servant heareth.*

Acts x. 13, &c.
ibid. 28.
Exod. iv. 10, &c.
Judges vi. 14, 15.
Jer. i. 6, &c.
Amos vii. 13–15.
Rom. i. 1.
Acts ix. 15.
Gal. i. 16, 17.
ibid. 1.
1 Sam. iii. 9, 10.

§. 26. and by what inquiries that may be known.

26. If it were expedient for us, that God should still deal with us as He did long with the Jewish, and a while with the infant Christian Church, by immediate inspirations, and call us either by secret enthusiams or sensible insinuations, as He did

[h] Ausonius, ubi supra. [13.]

[i] Ibid. [15.]

many of them, into the way wherein He would have us walk, the rule for our choice would be easy: or rather there would need no rule at all, because indeed there would be left no choice at all, but this only, even to get up and be doing, to put ourselves speedily into that way whereunto He did point us. But since the wisdom of God hath thought it better for us to take counsel from His written Word, which He hath left us for our ordinary direction in this and all other difficulties, rather than to depend upon immediate and extraordinary inspirations, it will be very profitable for us to draw thence some few Rules, whereby to make reasonable judgments concerning any course of life, whether that it be whereunto God hath called us, or no. The Rules, as I have partly intimated already, may be reduced to three heads, according as the inquiries we are to make in this business are of three sorts. For they either concern the course itself, or else ourselves that should use it, or else, thirdly, those that have right and power over us in it. If there be a fail in any of these, as, if either the course itself be not lawful, or we not competently fit for it, or our Superiors will not allow of us, or it, we may well think God hath not called us thither. God is just, and will not call any man to that which is not honest and good. God is all-sufficient, and will not call any man to that which is above the proportion of his strength. God is wonderful in His Providence, and will not call any man to that whereto He will not open him a fair and orderly passage. Somewhat, by your patience, of each of these.

§. 27. Three Conditions requisite in every lawful Calling: 1°. as considered in itself;

27. And first, of the Course we intend. Wherein let these be our inquiries. First, whether the thing be simply and in itself lawful, or no. Secondly, whether it be lawful so as to be made a Calling, or no. Thirdly, whether it will be profitable, or rather hurtful, to the Commonwealth. Now observe the Rules. The first Rule this, Adventure not on any course without good assurance that it be in itself lawful. The ground of this Rule is plain and evident. For it cannot be, that God, who hateth, and forbiddeth, and punisheth every sin in every man, should call any man to the practice of any sin. *Let him that stole steal no more*, saith St. Paul, *but rather let him labour with his hands the thing that is good.* If it be not something that is good, it is good for him to hold his hands off. Let him

Eph. iv. 28.

be sure, God never called him to labour in that; and he were as good hold to his old trade, and steal still, as labour with his hand the thing that is not good. If Diana of Ephesus be an idol, Demetrius his occupation must down: he must make no more silver shrines for Diana, though by that craft he have his wealth. Tertullian excellently enlargeth himself in this argument in his book *De Idololatria*,j strongly disapproving their practice, who, being Christians, yet got their living by making statues, and images, and other ornaments to sell to heathen idolaters. Offenders against this Rule are not only such as live by stealing, and robbing, and piracy, and pursecutting, and witchcraft,* and other such like ungodly practices as are made capital even by the Laws of men, and punishable by death; but all such also, as maintain themselves by, or get their living in, any course absolutely condemned by the Law of God, howsoever they may find amongst men either express allowance, as whores and bawds do in the holy Mother Church of Rome; or at least some kind of toleration by connivance, as charmers, and fortune-tellers, and wisards,† do amongst us. Which sort of people it is scarce credible how generally and miserably our common ignorants‡ are besotted with the opinion of their skill; and how pitifully they are gulled by their damnable impostures, through their own foolish credulity. These superstitions helped to root out the Amorites out of the land of Canaan; and it may pass among Saul's best acts, that he rooted out these superstitions out of the land of Israel. And great pity it is, that such as make a trade of these superstitions are not by some severe provisions rooted out of this and every other Christian Land. Let this first Rule be remembered of us in every choice and trial of our Callings. No unlawful thing can be a lawful calling.

Acts xix. 25–27.

Deut. xviii. 10–12. 1 Sam. xxviii. 9.

28. No, nor yet every lawful thing neither. For many things may be lawful in the private use, which yet may not lawfully be made a Calling, or trade of life. Who can reasonably deny the lawfulness of many disports and recreations, as bowling, or shooting, or even cards and dice? And yet who can

§. 28. 2°. considered as a Calling.

j Praesertim capp. 5–8.

* 'witchcraft.' Compare the twenty-fourth of Abp. Abbot's Visitation Articles in 1619. 'Whether have you in your Parish to your knowledge, or by common fame or report, ... any which have used any enchantments, sorceries, incantations, or witchcrafts, which are not made felony by the statutes of this realm?'

† 'wisards.' See Sermon vi. §. 33.

‡ 'ignorants.' So Bp. Hacket, Sermon ii. on the Resurrection, 'ignorants and vain people.'

reasonably think it to be a commendable Calling,[k] for any man to be a profest bowler, or archer, or gamester, and nothing else? Therefore take a second Rule. Make not a Calling of that, which was not made to be a Calling. If you shall ask, how you shall know a thing to be such? I answer, generally, all such things are of this nature, as are indifferent for men of all sorts and Callings to use with due caution and circumstances; and, more especially, matters of delight and recreations are such. And the reasons are good. The ground of particular Callings is some particular gift of God,[1] according to the differences that are to be found in particular men in regard either of the soul or of the body, or of outward things: whereas such things as these, whereof we now speak, become of lawful and commendable use, not so much from any special ability received from God, which should be exercised therein, as from the common necessity of our weak nature, which is to be refreshed thereby. And the end also, for which God permitteth us these things, is not to employ our strength and time in them, but to give us some refreshing[m] when we are wearied with former labour, and so to fit us for fresh and future employment. The works of our Callings, they are as our meats and drinks; these of delight, as sauces or as physic;[n] and as sauces or physic they are to be used, and not otherwise. As absurd then as it would be for a man to accustom himself to no other diet but slabber-sauces and drugs, so absurd a thing it is for a man to have no other Calling but dicing, and carding, and gaming. Amongst offenders against this Rule, that I reckon not jugglers, and fiddlers, and tumblers, and bearwards, and rope-dancers, and rhymers, and the rest of that rabble, they may thank the baseness of their condition rather than the lawfulness of their course. I strike rather, at those that are both eminent and pernicious; especially those bawds of unthriftiness and almost every other vice: (for where Un-

1 Cor. vii. 17.

[k] *τέλος εἶναι τοῦ βίου τὴν παιδίαν ἡμῖν ἀδύνατον.* Arist. Pol. VIII. iii. [3. *Οὐ γὰρ δὴ παίζοντας· τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ βίου τὴν παιδιὰν ἡμῖν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον κ. τ. λ.*]

[l] *Ἴδιον χάρισμα.* verse 7.

[m] [Ludo autem et joco] uti illo quidem licet: sed sicut somno, et quietibus caeteris, tum cum gravibus seriisque rebus satisfecerimus. Cicero, Offic. i. [103.]

[n] [*δεῖ παιδιὰς εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφυλακτοῦντας τὴν χρῆσιν, ὡς προσάγοντας*] *φαρμακείας χάριν.* Aristot. Polit. ibid.

* Compare Sermon xi. ad Aulam, §. 13. Sermon ii. ad Clerum, §. 24. and below, Sermon vii. §. 34.

thriftiness is, there is almost every other vice,) I mean those parcel-gallants * that have nothing to live on but their wits, and no other use of their wits, but to distil a kind of maintenance from juicy heirs and flush novices by play. I would our pantomimes also and stage-players would examine themselves and their Callings by this Rule. If they should have been tried by the Bench of Fathers and Councils of old, or would have put it to most voices among later Divines both Popish and Reformed, they had been utterly cast and condemned by the first Rule, and not have been reprieved till now; most holding, not the Calling only, but the very practice and thing itself unlawful and damnable. For my own part, I dare not at all say the practice is, neither will I now say the Calling is, unlawful. Only let them that make a Calling of it consider themselves and their Calling well, and examine whether God hath bestowed upon them some gifts which they might have employed a better way; and what inducements they have, and of what weight those inducements are, to give their consciences security, that they have done well in embracing this as their Calling. And when they have done thus, freely and faithfully, as in the sight of God, if their own hearts condemn them not, neither do I. In the mean time, I would but be their remembrancer of thus much only, that there are some things lawful to do, which are not lawful to live by; some things lawful as delights, which are not lawful as Callings. And so much for that second Rule.

§. 29. 3°. considered with respect to common utility.

29. There is yet a third Rule behind, and that is this. Resolve not upon that course for thy Calling, what pretences soever, or what reasons thou mayest have for the lawfulness of it otherwise, which is rather hurtful than profitable for the Commonwealth. The public good° is one of those main respects which enforce the necessity of a calling: the same respect then must of necessity enforce such a calling as may at least stand with the public good. *The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man*, saith our Apostle after, at the twelfth chapter, *to profit withal.* Yea, perhaps to profit himself withal. If it were but so, yet that were enough to infer more, sith the private good is included in the public,[p] *tanquam trigonum in*

1 Cor. xii. 7.

* 'parcel-gallants.' See above, §. 19.

° See before, sect. 14.

[p] Σὺν γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑκάστου ἀπόλλυται. Xenophon. de Venatione. [xii. 11.]

tetragono. But the Apostle meant to speak home; and therefore he made choice of a word that will not admit that gloss of private profit: *πρὸς τὸ συμφερόν.* That very word impliedly preferreth the public good before the private,[q] and scarce alloweth the private, other than as it is interwoven in the public. Now things in themselves lawful, and at some times useful, may, in regard of the end, or of the matter, or by some accident otherwise, happen at some other times to be hurtful to the Commonwealth; and hereof such due consideration would be had in the choice and exercise of our Callings, as ever to have one eye upon the common good, and not wholly to look after our own private gain. Offenders against this Rule are most of our engrossers,* and forestallers,† and sundry kinds of hucksters‡ and regraters;§ as also those that export money, corn, or other needful commodities out of the land in times of want or scarceness, or bring in unnecessary commodities when there is plenty at home; and all those that project new devices, and unjust monopolies,‖ to fill their own coffers, perhaps not without pretension of some small benefit to the Commonwealth, but certainly not without sensible and grievous pressures of those that are a great part of the Commonwealth.

[q] Sanis hominibus publica privatis potiora sunt. Seneca de Clementia, i. 4.

* 'engrossers,' those who buy up large quantities of corn, or other dead victual, with intent to sell them again. 'This must be of course injurious to the public, by putting it in the power of one or two rich men to raise the price of provision at their discretion.' Tomlin's Law Dictionary. Bp. Hacket seems to have regarded 'engrossing' as an offence that could be committed only in the country. In his fifth Sermon on the Passion, he denounces it as 'a most preposterous course, and no way intended to edify their auditors,' for Preachers to 'inveigh against engrossers of grain in the city,' as Sanderson does here, 'and against false merchandise in the country.'

† 'forestallers,' those who buy or bargain for any corn, cattle, or other merchandize, by the way, as they come to fairs or markets to be sold, before they are brought thither, to the intent to sell them again at a higher price. Tomlin.

‡ 'hucksters.' Compare Fuller's Worthies of England, Northumberland, 308. 'In which year [1438] happened a great and general famine, caused by much unseasonable weather, but more by some huckstering husbandmen, who properly may be termed knaves in grain, inasmuch that wheat was sold for three shillings a bushel, (intolerable according to the standard of those times,) and poor people were forced to make bread of fern roots.'

§ 'regraters,' those who buy corn or other dead victual in any market, and sell it again in the same market, or within four miles of the place; which enhances the price of provisions, as every successive seller must have a successive profit. Tomlin.

‖ Compare Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 32. Sermon xiii. §. 19. and Sermon ii. ad Clerum, §. 18.

§. 30. The Usurer's calling examined by these Rules.

30. Thus have we delivered three Rules concerning the quality of a right Calling, and pointed out some special offenders against each of them. And now methinks I see the usurer hugging himself, and clapping his sides, that he hath come off so fairly: surely his Calling is absolute good, whereon none of these Rules could fasten. But it is indeed with the usurer, in this case, as with the drunkard. If the drunkard should ask me against which of the Ten Commandments he offended, I confess, I could not readily give him a direct, punctual answer. Not that he sinneth not against any; but because he sinneth against so many of them that it is hard to say against which most. He sinneth against the sixth Commandment, by distempering his body; he sinneth against the seventh, by inflaming his lust; he sinneth against the eighth, by making waste of the good creatures of God. Right so is it with our usurer in this case. He would pose me, that should ask me the question, which of these three Rules fetcheth in the usurer and his Calling. Verily I cannot well tell which most: I think every one of the three may: howsoever, among the three I am sure I have him. If Usury be simply unlawful, as most of the learned have concluded, then the first Rule hath him. I should be very tender to condemn any thing as simply unlawful, which any even imaginary conjuncture of circumstances would render lawful;* and would choose rather, by an over-liberal charity to cover *a multitude of sins*, if I may abuse the Apostle's phrase to that sense, than by a too superstitious restraint make one. Yet the Texts of Scripture are so express, and the grounds of Reason, brought by learned men, seem so strong against all usury, that I have much ado to find so much charity in myself as to absolve any kind of usury, properly so called, with what cautions or circumstances soever qualified, from being a sin.† But I will suspect mine own and the common judgment herein, and admit for this once,

1 S. Pet. iv. 8.

* Compare Sermon xi. ad Aulam, §. 35. and Serm. iii. ad Clerum, §. 15.

† Previously to the fourth Edition this paragraph spoke much more peremptorily against Usury. 'Yet the Texts of Scripture are so express, and the grounds of Reason so strong against all Usury, that when I weigh these on the one side, and on the other side, how nothing all that is which I ever yet saw alledged to the contrary, I cannot find in myself charity enough to absolve any kind of Usury, with what cautions in circumstances soever qualified, from being a sin.'

dato non concesso, that usury be in some case lawful, and so our usurer escape the first Rule; which yet cannot be, till his teeth be knocked out for biting. But you must knock out his brains too, before he escape our second Rule. I dare say, the most learned usurer that liveth, (and they say some learned ones are usurers,) will never be able to prove that usury, if it be at all lawful, is so lawful as to be made a Calling.[r] Here all his Doctors and his Proctors and his Advocates leave him. For, can it possibly enter into any reasonable man's head to think, that a man should be born for nothing else, but to tell out money, and take in paper? which, if a man had many millions of gold and silver, could take up but a small portion of that precious time which God would have spent in some honest and fruitful employment. But what do I speak of the judgment of reasonable men in so plain a matter? wherein I dare appeal to the conscience, even of the usurer himself; and it had need be a very plain matter that a man would refer to the conscience of an usurer. No honest man need be ashamed of an honest Calling:[s] if then the usurer's Calling be such, what need he care who knoweth, or why should he shame with it? If that be his trade, why doth he not in his bills and bonds and *Noverints*, make it known to all men by those presents that he is an usurer, rather than write himself gentleman, or yeoman, or by some other style? But say yet our usurer should escape, at least in the judgment of his own hardened conscience, from both these Rules, as from the sword of Jehu and Hazael: there is yet a third Rule, like the sword of Elisha, to strike him stone-dead, and he shall never be able to escape that. Let him show wherein his Calling is profitable to human society. He keepeth no hospitality: if he have but a barr'd chest, and a strong lock to keep his God and his Scriptures, his Mammon and his Parchments, in it, he hath houseroom enough. He fleeceth many, but clotheth none. He biteth and devoureth, but eateth all his morsels alone. He giveth not so much as a crum, no, not to his dearest broker or scrivener: only, where he biteth, he alloweth them to

[r] ... artem nequitiae delegerunt, unde vitam transigant, et inde se volunt pascere, unde offendant eum, a quo omnes pascuntur. August. in Ps. cxxviii. [tom. iv. 1450 E. ed. Ben. Paris. 1681.]

[s] Pervagatissimus ille versus, qui vetat, *Artem pudere proloqui, quam factites*. Cicero, in Orator. [147.]

scratch what they can for themselves. The King, the Church, the Poor, are all wronged by him, and so are all that live near him: in every common charge, he slippeth the collar, and leaveth the burden upon those that are less able. It were not possible usurers should be so bitterly inveighed against by sober Heathen Writers, so severely censured by the Civil and Canon Laws, so uniformly condemned by godly Fathers and Councils, so universally hated by all men of all sorts, and in all ages and countries, as histories and experience manifest they ever have been and are, if their practice and Calling had been any way profitable, and not indeed every way hurtful and incommodious both to private men and public societies. If any thing can make a Calling unlawful, certainly the usurer's Calling cannot be lawful. Jer. xv. 10.

§. 32. Inquiries concerning ourselves,

32. Our first care past, which concerneth the Calling itself, our next care in our choice must be, to inquire into ourselves, what Calling is most fit for us, and we for it. Wherein our inquiry must rest especially upon three things, our Inclination, our Gifts, and our Education. Concerning which, let this be the first Rule. Where these three concur upon one and the same Calling, our consciences may rest assured that that Calling is fit for us; and we ought, so far as it lieth in our power, to resolve to follow that. This Rule, if well observed, is of singular use for the settling of their consciences, who are scrupulous and doubtful concerning their inward Calling to any office or employment. Divines teach it commonly, and that truly, that every man should have an inward Calling from God for his particular course of life; and this in the Calling of the Ministry is by so much more requisite than in most other Callings, by how much the business of it is more weighty than theirs, as of things more immediately belonging unto God. Whence it is, that in our Church none are admitted into Holy Orders, until they have personally and expressly made profession before the Bishop, that they find themselves 'inwardly called and moved thereunto.'[t] But because, what that inward Calling is, and how it should be discerned, is a thing not so distinctly declared and understood, generally, as it should be, it often falleth out, that men are distressed in conscience with doubts and scruples in this case, whilst they desire to be assured of

[t] Book of Ordering, &c.

their inward Calling, and know not how. We are to know, therefore, that to this inward Calling there is not of necessity required any inward, secret, sensible testimony of God's blessed, sanctifying Spirit to a man's soul, (for then an unsanctified man could not be rightly called,) neither yet any strong working of the Spirit of illumination, (for then a mere heathen man could not be rightly called,) both which consequents are false. For Saul and Judas were called, the one to the Kingdom, the other to the Apostleship; of whom it is certain the one was not, and it is not likely the other was, endued with the Holy Spirit of sanctification. And many Heathen men have been called to several employments, wherein they have also laboured with much profit to their own and succeeding times, who in all probability never had any other inward motion, than what might arise from some or all of these three things now specified, viz. the Inclination of their nature, their personal Abilities, and the care of Education. If it shall please God to afford any of us any further gracious assurance than these can give us, by some extraordinary work of His Spirit within us, we are to embrace it with joy and thankfulness, as a special favour; but we are not to suspend our resolutions for the choice of a course, in expectation of that extraordinary assurance; since we may receive comfortable satisfaction to our souls without it, by these ordinary means now mentioned. For, who need be scrupulous where all these concur? Thy Parents have from thy childhood destinated thee to some special course, admit the Ministry, and been at the care and charge to breed thee up in learning, to make thee in some measure fit for it: when thou art grown to some maturity of years and discretion, thou findest in thyself a kind of desire to be doing something that way in thy private study by way of trial; and withal some measure of knowledge, discretion, and utterance, though perhaps not in such an eminent degree as thou couldst wish, yet in such a competency, as thou mayest reasonably persuade thyself thou mightest thereby be able, with His blessing, to do some good to God's people, and not be altogether unprofitable in the Ministry. In this so happy concurrence of Propension, Abilities, and Education, make no further inquiry, doubt not of thine inward Calling, tender thyself to those that have the power of admission for thy outward Calling; which once ob-

1 Sam. x. 24.
S. John vi. 70.

tained, thou art certainly in thine own proper course. Up and be doing, for the Lord hath called thee, and, no doubt, the Lord will be with thee.

§. 33. with some more special directions, in doubtful cases, in respect

33. But say, these three do not concur, as oftentimes they do not. A man may be destinated by his friends, and accordingly bred, out of some covetous, or ambitious, or other corrupt respect, to some Calling, wherefrom he may be altogether averse, and whereto altogether unfit: as we see some parents, that have the donations or advocations * of Church Livings in their hands, must needs have some of their children (and for the most part they set by the most untoward and misshapen chip of the whole block, to make timber for the pulpit,) but some of their children they will have thrust into the Ministry, though they have neither a head nor a heart for it. Again, a man may have a good sufficiency in him for a Calling, and yet out of a slothful desire of ease and liberty, if it seem painful or austere; or an ambitious desire of eminency and reputation, if it seem base and contemptible; or some other secret corruption, cannot set his mind that way; as Solomon saith, there may be *a price in the hand of a fool, to buy wisdom, and* yet the fool *have no heart to it.* And divers other occurrents there may be, and are, to hinder this happy conjuncture of Nature, Skill, and Education. Now in such cases as these, where our Education bendeth us one way, our inclination swayeth us another way, and, it may be, our gifts and abilities lead us a third, in this distraction, what are we to do? which way to take? what Calling to pitch upon? In point of Conscience, there can no more be given general rules, to meet with all cases, and regulate all difficulties, than in point of Law, there can be general resolutions given to set an end to all suits, or provisions made to prevent all inconveniences. Particulars are infinite, and various; but rules are not, must not, cannot be so. He whose case it is, if he be not able to direct himself, should do well to take advice of his learned Counsel. This we can readily do in matters of Law, for the quieting of our estates: why should we not do it at least as readily in matter of Conscience, for the quieting of our souls? But yet for some light, at least in the generality, what if thou shouldst proceed thus?

Prov. xvii. 16.

* 'Advocatio,' Anglis *Advowson*, jus praesentandi ordinario aliquem ad beneficium vacans. Du Cange.

§. 34. 1°. of our Education;

34. First, have an eye to thy Education; and if it be possible to bring the rest that way, do so rather than forsake it. For besides that it would be some grief to thy parents, to whom thou shouldest be a comfort, to have cast away so much charge as they have been at for thy education; and some dishonour to them withal whom thou art bound by the law of God and Nature to honour, to have their judgments so much slighted, and their choice so little regarded by their child: the very consideration of so much precious time as hath been spent in fitting thee to that course, which would be almost all lost upon thy change,[u] should prevail with thee to try all possible means, rather than forgo it. It were a thing indeed much to be wished, that parents, and friends, and guardians, and all those other whatsoever, that have the education of young ones committed unto them, (all greedy desires to make their children great, all base, penurious niggardness in saving their own purses, all fond cherishing of their children in their humours, all doting opinion of their forwardness and wit and towardliness, all other corrupt partial affections whatsoever, laid aside,) would, out of the observation of their natural propensions and inclinations,[x] and of their particular abilities and defects, frame them from the beginning to such courses, as wherein they were likeliest to go on with cheerfulness and profit. This indeed were to be wished; but this is not always done. If it have not been so done to thee, the fault is theirs that should have done it, and not thine; and thou art not able now to remedy that which is past and gone. But as for thee, and for the future, if thy parents have not done their part, yet do not thou forget thy duty: if they have done one fault, in making a bad choice, do not thou add another, in making a worse change: disparage not their judgments by misliking, neither gainsay their wills by forsaking their choice, upon every small incongruity with thine own judgment or will. If thine inclination draw thee another way, labour throughly to subdue thy nature therein: suspect thine own corruption:

Exod. xx. 12.

[u] Haud aequum facit, qui, quod didicit, id dediscit. Plautus, in Amphitr. [II. ii. 55.]

[x] Inque eo vel maxime probavi ... Apollonium, qui, cum mercede doceret, tamen non patiebatur eos quos judicabat non posse oratores evadere, operam apud sese perdere, dimittebatque; et ad quam quemque artem putabat esse aptum, ad eam impellere atque hortari solebat. Cicero de Orat. i. [126.]

think this backwardness proceedeth not from true judgment in thee, but issueth rather from the root of some carnal affection: consider thy years are green, affections strong, judgment unsettled:[y] hope that this backwardness will grow off, as years and stayedness grow on: pray and endeavour that thou mayest daily more and more wain* thy affections from thine own bent, and take liking to that course whereunto thou hast been so long in framing. Thus possibly thou mayest in time make that cheerful and delightful unto thee, which now is grievous and irksome. And as for thy insufficiency, if that dishearten thee, which is indeed a main rub, do thus. Impute thy former non-proficiency to thine own sloth and negligence: think, if after so long time spent in this course, thou hast attained to no greater perfection in it, how long it would be ere thou shouldest come to a tolerable mediocrity in another: resolve not to lose all that precious time forepast by beginning the world anew, but rather save as much of it as is redeemable, by adding to thy diligence: suspect that it cometh from thy pride, that thou canst not content thyself with a Calling wherein thou mayest not be excellent; and imagine that God, of purpose to humble thee, might divert thy education to another, for which thou art less apt: observe what strange things past belief,[z] and such as have seemed insuperable, have been conquered and subdued by the obstinacy and improbity of unwearied labour, and of assiduity: doubt not, but by God's blessing upon thy faithful industry, to attain in time, if not to such perfection as thou desirest, and mightest perhaps have attained in some other course, if thou hadst been bred up to it, yet to such a competent sufficiency, as may render thy endeavours acceptable to God, comfortable to thyself, and serviceable to community. If by these and the

[y] Juvenile vitium est, regere non posse impetum. Seneca, in Troad. [Act. ii. 250.]

* 'wain,' *wean*. The Geneva Bible has 'wained,' Ps. cxxxii. 2. Is. xi. 8. Hosea i. 8. 'wayned,' 1 Sam. i. 22. 'weined,' Is. xxxiii. 9. and 'weyned,' 1 Kings xi. 20.

[z] Nihil est quod non expugnet pertinax opera, et intenta ac diligens cura. Seneca, [Epist. 50.] ... Labor omnia vincit Improbus. Virgil. Georg. i. [145.] Praeliatus est contra rerum naturam, et quidem victor abiit, malignitatem ejus pertinacissimo animi robore superando. [Itaque alterum Demosthenem mater, alterum industria enixa est.] Valerius Max. viii. 7. τέχνη καὶ φύσιν οἶδε βιάζεσθαι. Heliodorus, Aethiop. Hist. iii. [17. p. 131. ed. Coray.]

like considerations, and the use of other good means, thou canst bring thy affections to some indifferent liking of, and thy abilities to some indifferent mediocrity for, that course which Education hath opened unto thee, thou hast no more to do: there's thy course, that's thy Calling, that's the work whereunto God hath appointed thee.

§. 35. 2°. of our Abilities,

35. But if, after long striving, and pains, and trial, thou canst neither bring thy mind to it, nor do any good upon it, having faithfully desired and endeavoured it, so that thou must needs leave the course of thy Education; or, which is another case, if thy Education have left thee free, as many Parents, God knoweth, are but too careless that way, then, Secondly, thou art in the next place to consider of thy Gifts and Abilities, and to take direction from them rather than from thine Inclination. And this Rule I take to be very sound: not only from the Apostle's intimation, verse 17, *As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one,* where he seemeth to make the choice of men's Callings to depend much upon the distribution of God's gifts; but withal for two good reasons. One is because our gifts and abilities, whether of body or mind, being in the brain or hand, are at a better certainty than our propensions and inclinations are, which are seated in the heart. The heart Jer. xvii. 9. is *deceitful above all things;* and there are so many rotten corruptions in it, that it is a very hard thing for a man to discern his own inclinations and propensions, whether they spring from a sound or from a corrupt root. Whereas in the discerning of our Gifts and Abilities, we are less subject to gross errors and mistakings: I mean for the truth and reality of them; howsoever we are apt to overvalue them for the measure and degree.[a] Now it is meet, in the choice of our Callings, we should follow the surer guide, and therefore rather be led by our Gifts[b] than by our Inclinations. The other reason is, because our Inclinations cannot so well produce Abilities, as these can draw on them. We say indeed, there is nothing hard to a willing mind; and, in some sense, it is true. Not as if a willing mind could make us do more

[a] Ferè plus nobis videmur posse quam possumus. Seneca, de Tranquil. c. 4.

[b] Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est. Horat. Epist. I. vii. [98.]

than we are able: a man can do no more than he can do, be he never so willing; but because a willing mind will make us *exserere vires*, stir up ourselves to do as much as we are able, which we use not to do in those things we go unwillingly about. Willingness then may quicken the strength we have; but it doth not put any new strength into us. But Abilities can produce Inclinations *de novo*, and make them where they find them not. As we see every other natural thing is inclinable to the exercise of those natural faculties that are in it, so certainly would every man have strongest inclination to those things whereto he hath strongest Abilities, if wicked and untoward affections did not often corrupt our Inclinations, and hinder them from moving their own proper and natural way. It is best then, to begin the choice of our Callings from our Abilities, which will fetch on Inclinations; and not from our Inclinations, which, without Abilities, will not serve the turn.

§. 36. With sundry Considerations concerning them.

36. Concerning which Gifts or Abilities, what they are, and how to make true judgment of them, and how to frame the choice of our Callings from them, to speak punctually* and fully would require a large discourse. I can but touch at some few points therein, such as are of daily use, and proceed. First, by Gifts and Abilities we are to understand not only those of the mind, judgment, wit, invention, memory, fancy, eloquence, &c, and those of the body, health, strength, beauty, activity, &c, but also those which are without, birth, wealth, honour, authority, reputation, kinred,† alliance, &c. generally any thing that may be of use or advantage unto us for any employment. Secondly, as our Abilities on the one side, so, on the other side, all our wants and defects, which might disable us more or less for any employment, are to be duly weighed and considered of, and the one laid against the other, that we may know how to make, as near as we can, a just estimate of our strength and sufficiency. Thirdly, it is the safer way to undervalue than to overprise ourselves, lest, ignorantly confident, we affect a Calling above our strength, which were to fly with waxen wings, and to owe the world a

* 'punctually,' *exactly*. See Sermon ii. ad Aulam, §. 17.

† 'kinred.' See above, Sermon iii. §. 21.

laughter.* Be we sure of this: if God have not gifted us for it, He hath not called us to it. Fourthly, in the judging of our Abilities, we should have a regard to the outward circumstances of times and places, and the rest. Those Gifts which would have made a sufficient Priest in the beginning of the Reformation,† in that dearth of learning and penury of the Gospel, now the times are full of knowledge and learning would be all little enough for a Parish Clerk. Fifthly, something would be yielded to the judgments of other men concerning our Abilities. It is either secret pride, or base faintness of heart, or dull sloth, or some other thing, and not true modesty in us, if, being excellently gifted for some weighty employment in every other man's judgment, we yet withdraw ourselves from it with pretensions of unsufficiency. Sixthly, and lastly, let us resolve on that course, *caeteris paribus*, not only for which we are competently fit, but for which we are absolutely fittest. A good actor, it may be, could very sufficiently act any part in the play, represent the majesty of a King, or the humour of a swaggerer, or the pranks of a bedlam,‡ or any thing; but yet if he be notedly excellent at some part rather than another, he would not willingly be put from that, to act another. *Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scena, quod non videbit* [*vir*] *sapiens in vita?*§ Shame we to let these men be wiser in their generations, than we in our's. And thus much for abilities.

§. 37. 3°. of our Inclinations: concerning which the first Rule.

37. There is yet a doubt remaineth concerning a man's Inclination. In case we have examined our Gifts, and find them in a good measure of competency for such or such a course, and yet remain still averse from it, and cannot by any possible means work over our affections to any tolerable liking of it, in such a case, what is to be done, or how shall we judge what Calling is fittest for us to take? whether that whereto our Abilities lead us, or that whereto our Inclinations draw us? As I conceive it, in such a case we are to hold this order. First, if our Inclinations cannot be won over to that

* 'owe the world a laughter.' Ventis debes ludibrium. Horace, Odes, I. xiv. 16.

† Compare Sermon iii. ad Clerum, §. 15. and the passage quoted from Nowell, vol. ii. 86. note §.

‡ 'a bedlam,' *a bedlamite*. As in Shakspeare, K. Lear, ii. 3. and K. John, ii. 1.

§ Cicero de Offic. I. xxxi. 114. In the best Edd. *quod* does not appear.

course for which our Abilities lie fittest, we are to take a second surview * of our Abilities, to see if they be competently fit for that whereto our Inclination swayeth us; and if upon due unpartial examination we find they are, we may then follow the sway of our Inclination.[c] The reason this. A man's Inclination cannot be forced. If it can be fairly won over, well and good; but violence it cannot endure at any hand. And therefore, if we cannot make it yield to us in reason, there is no remedy, we must in wisdom yield to it, provided ever it be honest; or else all is lost. Whatever our sufficiencies be, things will not fadge † that are undertaken without an heart:[d] there is no good to be done against the hair.

38. But then, secondly, if upon search we find ourselves altogether unsufficient and unfit for that Calling whereunto our inclination is strongly and violently carried, we are to oppose that Inclination with a greater violence, and to set upon some other Calling, for which we are in some mediocrity gifted, speedily and resolvedly, and leave the success to Almighty God. The reason this. It being certain that God never calleth any man but to that, for which He hath in some competent measure enabled him, we are to hold that for a pernicious and unnatural inclination at the least, if not rather for a wicked and diabolical suggestion, which so stiffly exciteth us to a function whereto we may be assured God never called us. §. 38. the second.

39. But yet, thirdly, (and I would commend it unto you as a principal good rule, and the fairest outlet of all other from amid these difficulties,) we should do well to deal with these mutinous and distracting thoughts within us, as wise Statists ‡ §. 39. the third.

* 'surview.' See above, Sermon iii. §. 26.

[c] Recte facit, animo quando obsequitur suo: Quod omnes homines facere oportet, dum id modo fiat bono. Plautus, in Amphitr. [iii. 4. 12.]

† 'fadge,' to *succeed, answer expectation.* 'We will have, an this fadge not, an antic.' Shakspeare, Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2. Forby, East Anglian Vocabulary. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, Wit without Money, Act iii. and The Martial Maid, ii. 2.

[d] Male respondent coacta ingenia; reluctante natura, irritus labor est. Seneca de Tranquil. c. 6.

‡ 'Statists,' *Statesmen, Politicians.* Compare Hacket, Fifth Sermon on the Passion. 'Statists love to bring about odious projects by the hands of underlings, as the ape in the Fable would take the chesnut out of the hot embers with the cat's foot.' See also, Milton, P. R. iv. 354. and Shakspeare, Hamlet, v. 2. Cymbeline, ii. 4.

do when they have to deal with men divided in opinions and factions and ends. How is that? They use to bethink themselves of a middle course, to reduce all the several opinions to a kind of temper, so as no side be satisfied fully in the proposals they have tendered, and yet every side in part: as we commonly hold those to be the justest arbitrators,[e] and to make the best and the fairest end of differences between the parties for whom they arbitrate, that, by pleasing neither, please both. So here, if our Educations, Abilities, and Inclinations look several ways, and the Inclination be peremptory and stiff, and will not condescend to either of the other two, it will be a point of good wisdom in us, if we can bethink ourselves of some such meet temper as may in part give satisfaction to our Inclinations, and yet not leave our Gifts and Educations wholly unsatisfied. And that is easily done by proposing the full latitude of our Educations and Abilities, as the utmost bounds of our choice, and then leaving it to our Inclinations to determine our particular choice within those bounds. For no man's Education or Gifts run so mathematically and by the line to that point whereto they direct him, but that there is a kind of latitude in them; and that for the most part, by reason of the great variety and affinity[f] of offices and employments, very large and spacious. One instance shall serve both to exemplify and illustrate this Rule. A man designed by his parents to the Ministry, and for that end brought up in the University, studieth there philosophy, and history, and the arts, and the tongues, and furnisheth himself with general knowledge which may enable him, as for the work of the Ministry, so for the exercise of any other profession that hath to do with Learning: so as not only the Calling of the Ministry, but that of the Lawyer too, and of the Physician, and of the Tutor, and Schoolmaster, and sundry other besides these, do come within the latitude of his education and abilities. Certainly, if his mind would stand thereunto, no course would be so proper for such a man as that which he was intended for, of the Ministry. But he

[e] Ad arbitrium hoc animo adimus, ut neque nihil, neque tantum quantum postulavimus, consequamur.... Quis unquam ad arbitrum, quantum petiit, tantum abstulit? Cicero pro Roscio Com. [10, 12.]

[f] Nulla ars non alterius artis, aut mater, aut propinqua est. Tertull. de Idol. 8.

proveth obstinately averse from it, and cannot be drawn by any persuasion of friends or reason to embrace it. It is not meet to force his Inclination quite against the bent of it; and yet it is pity his Abilities and Education should be cast away. This middle course therefore is to be held: even to leave it free for him to make his choice of Law, or Physic, or Teaching, or any other profession that belongeth to a Scholar, and cometh within his latitude, which of them soever he shall find himself to have the strongest inclination or propension unto. And the like course we are to hold in other cases of like nature: by which means our Inclinations, which cannot be driven to the centre, may yet be drawn within the circumference of our Educations and Abilities. He that observeth these Rules I have hitherto delivered, with due respect to his Education, Abilities, and Inclination, and dealeth therein faithfully and unpartially and in the fear of God, may rest secure in his conscience of his inward Calling.

§. 40. The necessity of an outward Calling 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

40. But there must be an outward Calling too: else yet all is not right. The general Rule, Πάντα εὐσχημόνως, *Let all things be done honestly,* and in order*, enforceth it. There are some Callings, which, conscionably discharged, require great pains and care; but yet the profits will come in, whether the duties be conscionably performed, or no. Our Calling of the Ministry is such; and such are all those offices as have annexed unto them a certain standing revenue, or annual fee. Now into such Callings as these every unworthy fellow that wanteth maintenance and loveth ease would be intruding, as we of the Clergy find it but too true; and there would be no order kept herein, if there were not left in some others a power to keep back unsufficient men. There are again divers Callings necessary for the public, which yet bring in either no profits at all, if not rather a charge, or at least profits improportionable to the pains and dangers men must undergo in them: such as are the Callings of a Justice of Peace, the High Sheriff of a County, a Constable, Churchwarden, Soldier, &c. Now from these Callings men of sufficiency, to avoid trouble and charge, would withdraw themselves; and so the King and Country should be served either not at

* '*honestly*.' So in all the English Versions before 1611.

all, or by unworthy ones. Here likewise would be no order, if there were not left in some others a power to impose those offices upon sufficient men. It may be, those in whom either power resideth, may sometimes, yea, often abuse it, for they are but men; keeping back sufficient men, and admitting unsufficient, into callings of the former; sparing sufficient men, and imposing upon unsufficient, offices of the latter kind. This is not well. But yet what wise man knoweth not that there could not be avoided a necessity of general inconveniences, if there should not be left a possibility of particular mischiefs? And therefore it is needful there should be this power of admitting and refusing, of sparing and imposing, in Church and Commonwealth, though it may happen to be thus mischievously abused, rather than, for want of this power, a multitude of unsufferable inconveniences, as needs there must, should ensue. And from this power must every man have his warrant for his outward Calling to any office or employment in Church or Commonwealth.

§. 41. exemplified in two cases. The first.

41. Now then to frame a case to either of these two sorts of Calling. A man desireth a lawful Calling, suppose the Ministry: not only his Inclination bendeth him, but his Education also leadeth him, and his Gifts encourage him that way: hitherto all things concur, to seal unto his conscience God's Calling him to this function. But for so much as he hath not, as it is not fit any man should have, power to give himself either Orders to be a Priest, or institution into a pastoral charge, he must, for his admission into that holy function, depend upon those to whom the power of admitting or refusing in either kind is committed. He may tender himself and his gifts to examination, and modestly crave admission, which once obtained, he hath no more to do: his Calling is warranted, and his choice at an end. But if that be peremptorily denied him, whether reasonably, or no, it now mattereth not, he is to rest himself content a while, to employ himself at his study, or in some other good course for the time, and to wait God's leisure and a further opportunity. And if, after some reasonable expectation, upon further tender with modest importunity, he cannot yet hope to prevail, he must begin to resolve of another course, submit himself to authority and order, acknowledge God's Providence in it, possess his soul in patience, and

See Heb. v. 4.

think, that for some secret corruption in himself, or for some other just cause, God is pleased that he should not, or not yet, enter into that Calling.

§. 42. the second,

42. On the other side, a gentleman liveth in his country in good credit and account, known to be a sufficient man both for estate and understanding, thought every way fit to do the King and his Country service in the Commission of the Peace; yet himself, either out of a desire to live at ease and avoid trouble, or because he thinketh he hath as much business of his own as he can well turn him to, without charging himself with the cares of the public, or possibly out of a privy consciousness to himself of some defect, as, it may be, an irresolution in judgment, or in courage, or too great a propension to foolish pity, or for some other reason which appeareth to him just, thinketh not that a fit Calling for him, and rather desireth to be spared. But for so much as it is not fit a man should be altogether his own judge, especially in things that concern the public, he must herein depend upon those to whom the power of sparing or imposing in this kind is committed. He may excuse himself by his other many occasions, allege his own wants and insufficiencies, and what he can else for himself, and modestly crave to be spared. But if he cannot by fair and honest suit get off, he must submit himself to authority and order, yield somewhat to the judgment of others, think that God hath His secret work in it, and rest upon the warrant of this outward Calling.

See Ecclus. vii. 6.

§. 43. with the importance hereof.

43. The outward Calling then is not a thing of small moment, or to be lightly regarded. Sometimes, as in the case last proposed, it may have the chief and the casting voice; but where it hath least, it hath always a negative, in every regular choice of any calling or course of life. And it is this outward Calling, which, I say not principally, but even alone, must rule every ordinary Christian in the judging of other men's Callings. We cannot see their hearts: we know not how God might move them: we are not able to judge of their inward Callings. If we see them too neglectful of the duties of their Calling, if we find their gifts hold very short and unequal proportion with the weight of their Calling, or the like, we have but little comfortable assurance, to make us confident that all is right within. But yet, unless it be such as are in

place of authority and office to examine men's sufficiencies, and accordingly to allow or disallow them, what hath any of us to do to judge the heart, or the conscience, or the inward Calling of our brother? So long as he hath the warrant of an orderly outward Calling, we must take him for such as he goeth for, and leave the trial of his heart to God and to his own heart. And of this second general point, the choice of a Calling, thus far.

§. 44. The abiding in our Callings

44. Remaineth now the third and last point proposed, the Use of a man's Calling. Let him walk in it. Let him abide in it. Let him *abide therein with God*, here in my Text. Verse 17. Verse 20. At this I aimed most, in my choice of this Text; and yet of this I must say least. Preachers ofttimes do with their proposals, as parents sometimes do with their children: though they love the later as well, yet the first go away with the largest portions. But I do not well, to trifle out that little sand I have left* in apologies. Let us rather on to the matter, and see what duties our Apostle here requireth of us, under these phrases of abiding in our callings, and abiding therein with God.

§. 45. disalloweth not a change,

45. It may seem he would have us stick to a course, and when we are in a Calling, not to forsake it, nor change it, no, not for a better, no, not upon any terms. Perhaps some have taken it so; but certainly the Apostle never meant it so. For taking the word Calling in that extent wherein he treateth of it in this chapter, if that were his meaning, he should consequently teach that no single man might marry, nor any servant become free: which are apparently contrary, both unto common reason, and unto the very purpose of the chapter. But taking the word as we have hitherto specially intended it and spoken of it, for some settled station and course of life, whereby a man is to maintain himself, or wherein to do profitable service to human society, or both, is it yet lawful for a man to change it, or is he bound to abide in it perpetually

* 'that little sand I have left.' See Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 48. Compare South, Sermon on the duties of the Episcopal Function. 'Teaching is not a flow of words, and the draining of an hour-glass,' &c. and again, Sermon on the Virtuous Education of Youth. 'I never thought a pulpit, a cushion, and an hour-glass, such necessary means of Salvation, but that much of the time and labour which is spent about them might be much more profitably bestowed in catechizing youth from the desk.'

without any possibility or liberty to alter his course upon any terms? I answer, it is lawful to change it, so it be done with due caution. It is lawful, first, in subordinate Callings. For where a man cannot warrantably climb unto an higher, but by the steps of an inferior Calling, there must needs be supposed a lawfulness of relinquishing the inferior. How should we do for generals for the wars, if colonels and lieutenants and captains and common soldiers might not relinquish their charges? and how for Bishops in the Church, if beneficed men and college-governors were clench't and riveted to their cures, like *a nail in a sure place*, not to be removed? Nay, we should have no Priests in the Church of England, since a Priest must be a Deacon first, if a Deacon might not leave his station, and become a Priest. But St. Paul saith, *They that* 1 Tim. iii. *have used the office of a Deacon well, purchase to themselves* 13. *a good degree.* And so in lower Callings it is, that men should give proof of their worthiness for higher. It is lawful, secondly, yea, necessary, when the very Calling itself, though in itself good and useful, doth yet by some accident become unlawful or unuseful. As when some manufacture is prohibited by the State; or when some more exact device of later invention hath made the old unprofitable. It is lawful, thirdly, when a man by some accident becometh unable for the duties of his Calling, as by age, blindness, maim,* decay of estate, and sundry other impediments which daily occur. It is lawful, fourthly, where there is a want of sufficient men, or not a sufficient number of them in some Callings, for the necessities of the State and Country. In such cases, Authority may interpose, and cull out men from other Callings, such as are fit, and may be spared, to serve in those. Not to branch out too many particulars, it is lawful generally, where either absolute necessity enforceth it, or lawful authority enjoineth it, or a concurrence of weighty circumstances, faithfully and soberly and discreetly laid together, seemeth to require it.

§. 46.

46. But then it must be done with due cautions. As, first, so it be

* 'maim,' as a noun, occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher, The Tamer Tamed, ii. 2. The other forms 'mahim' or 'mayhem' are used in Law, to signify 'a corporal hurt, whereby a man loseth the use of any member that is or might be any defence to him in battle.' Blount, Glossographia.

done with due Cautions:

not out of a desultory lightness. Some men are ever restless,[g] as if they had windmills in their heads: every new crotchet putteth them into a new course. But these rolling stones carry their curse with them: they seldom gather moss; and who prove many conclusions,* it is a wonder, if their last conclusion prove not beggary. If thou art well, keep thyself well:[h] lest, thinking to meet with better, thou find worse. Nor, secondly, out of the greediness of a covetous or ambitious lust. Profit and credit are things, respectively amongst other things, to be considered both in the choice and change; but not principally, and above all other things, certainly not wholly, and without, or against all other things. Thirdly, nor out of sullenness, or a discontentedness at thy present condition. Content groweth from the mind, not from the condition; and therefore change of the Calling, the mind unchanged, will either not afford content, or not long. Thy new broom, that now sweepeth clean all discontents from thee, will soon grow stubbed,† and leave as much filth behind to annoy thee, as the old one thou flungest away. Either learn with St. Paul, in Phil. iv. 11. whatsoever state thou art, to be therewithal content, or never hope to find content in whatsoever state thou shalt be. Much less, fourthly, out of an evil eye against thy neighbour that liveth by thee. There is not a baser sin than envy, nor a fouler mark of envy than to forsake thine own trading to justle thy neighbour out of his. Nor, fifthly, out of degenerous false-heartedness. That man would soon dare to be evil, that dareth not long be good. And he that flincheth from his

[g] ... nullam mentem Animi habeo: ubi sum, ibi non sum; ubi non sum, ibi est animus. Plautus, in Cistel. [II. i. 5.]

* 'conclusions,' *experiments*, as in Hamlet, iii. 4. 'and like the famous ape, To try conclusions, in the basket creep'— Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2. 'She hath pursued conclusions infinite Of easy ways to die'— and in a Letter of Jo. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, Nov. 12, 1612. 'In his extremity, they tried all manner of conclusions upon him' (Prince Henry). Court and Times of James I. i. 204.

[h] *οὐ καλῶς βιοῖς, παράμενε, κεὶ τυχεῖς τὰ πάντα.* [Sotades] ap. Stob. Serm. [3. 39. ed. Gaisford.]

† 'stubbed,' *shortened by wear.* 'Stub,' as a noun substantive, was another form of 'stump,' of which 'stubble' was the diminutive. Compare Hacket's Life of Williams, ii. 139. 'A Parliament was sitting when our Bishop had his liberty, which held in its fragments twelve years and six months. Nay, when the stub of the Members were baffled, and spurned out of the house by the ruffian Cromwell,' &c. In the Craven Glossary, 'to stub' and 'to stump' are both explained 'to ruin, to reduce to poverty.'

Calling, at the first frown, who can say he will not flinch from his conscience, at the next? In an upright course, fear not the face of man, neither *leave thy place, though the spirit of a Ruler rise up against thee.* Patience will conjure down again that spirit in time: only, if thou keep thyself within thy circle. But, sixthly, be sure thou change not, if thy Calling be of that nature that it may not be changed. Some degrees of Magistracy seem to be of that nature; and therefore some have noted it rather as an act of impotency* in Charles the fifth, than a fruit either of humility, or wisdom, or devotion, that he resigned his crown, to betake himself to a cloister. But our Calling of the Ministry is certainly such. There may be a change of the station or degree in the Ministry, upon good cause, and with due circumstances; but yet still so as that the main Calling itself remain unchanged. This Calling hath in it something that is sacred, and singular, and different from other Callings. As therefore things once dedicated and hallowed to religious services were no more to return to common uses, for that were to profane them *ipso facto,* and to make them unclean, so persons once set apart for the holy work of the Ministry,—*Separate me Paul and Barnabas,*[1]— and invested into their Calling with solemn collation of the Holy Ghost in a special manner, if any more they return to be of that lump from which they are separated, they do, as it were, puff the blessed breath of Christ back into His own face, and renounce their part in the Holy Ghost. Bethink thyself well therefore beforehand, and consider what thou art in doing, when thou beginnest to reach forth thine hand towards this spiritual plough: know, when it is once there, it may not be pulled back again, no, not for a Dictatorship. That man can be no less than disorderly at the least, that forsaketh his Orders. You see I do but point at things as I go, which would require further enlarging; because I desire to have done.

Eccl. x. 4.

S. John xx. 22.

47. This then, that we should persevere in our Callings until death, and not leave or change them upon any consideration whatsoever, is not the thing our Apostle meaneth by abiding in our Callings. The word importeth divers other Christian

§. 47. but importeth, 1°. Contentedness;

* 'impotency.' Compare Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 23.

[1] Acts xiii. 2. whence *ἀφωρισμένος*, Rom. i. 1.

duties concerning the use of our Callings. I will but touch at them, and conclude. The first is Contentedness: that we neither repine at the meanness of our own, nor envy at the eminence of another's Calling. *Art thou called being a servant? care not for it*, saith this Apostle, but a little before my Text. All men cannot have rich, or easy, or honourable Callings: the necessity of the whole requireth that some should drudge in baser and meaner offices. *If all the body were eye, where were the hearing?* And if there were none to grind at the mill, there would soon be none to sit upon the throne. Solomon's temple had not been reared to this hour, if there had not been burden-bearers and labourers, as well as curious workers in stone, and brass, and gold. There should be no shame in that whereof there can be no want: nay, *much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary.* Grudge not then at thine own lot, for not the meanest Calling but hath a promise of God's blessing, neither envy another's lot; for not the greatest Calling but is attended with worldly vexations. Whatsoever thy Calling is, *therein abide*, be content with it.

1 Cor. vii. 21.

1 Cor. xii. 17.

1 Kings v. 15. [1 Chron. xxii. 15, 16.]

1 Cor. xii. 22.

§. 48. 2°. Faithfulness.

48. The second is Faithfulness, and Industry, and Diligence. What is here called abiding in it, is, at verse 17, called walking in it; and, in Rom. xii, *waiting on it: Let him that hath an office, wait on his office.** *It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful;* and every man, in his Calling, is a steward. He that professeth a Calling and doth nothing in it, doth no more abide in it than he that leaveth it, or he that never had it. *Spartam quam nactus es, orna.*† Whatsoever Calling thou hast undertaken, therein abide: be painful in it.

Rom. xii. 7. 1 Cor. iv. 2. 1 Pet. iv. 10.

§. 49. 3°. Sobriety.

49. The third is, Sobriety; that we keep ourselves within the proper bounds and limits of our Callings. For how doth he abide in his Calling that is ever and anon flying out of it, or starting beyond it, like an extravagant soldier that is always breaking rank? Uzzah had better have ventured the falling than the fingering of the Ark, though it tottered. It is never well, when the cobbler looketh above the ankle;[k] nor when lay-

2 Sam. vi. 6, 7.

* So in Tyndale and Cranmer. In the Geneva Bible: *Or if we have an office, let us wait on our office.*

† [Erasmus, Adag. Chil. ii. Cent. v. 1. Cf. Proverb. Diogen. viii. 16. Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, κείναν κόσμει. ap. Gaisford. Paroemiogr. Gr.]

[k] Ne Sutor ultra crepidam, vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 10. [Feruntque a sutore reprehensum, (Apellem)

men teach us what, and how, we should teach them. The Pope should have done well to have thrown away his keys, as they say one of them once did,‡ before he had taken the sword into his hands; and midwives well, to go teach all nations, before they baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Let it be the singular absurdity of the Church of Rome, to allow Vicars to dispose of Crowns, and women of Sacraments.§ As for thee, whatsoever thy Calling be, therein abide: keep within the bounds of it.

S. Matthew xxviii. 19.

quod in crepidis una intus pauciores fecisset ansas: eodem postero die superbo emendatione pristinae admonitionis cavillante circa crus, indignatum prospexisse, denunciantem, ne supra crepidam judicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium venit.]

‡ 'one of them once did.' Julius II. Pope 1503–1513, 'being a lusty warrior, and going forth on a time with his army out of the city, did hurl Peter's keys into Tiber, with these words: Because that Peter's Key is able to do no more, let the sword of Paul help to do it.' Studley, The Pageant of Popes, fol. 179, 1574; or, in the original, Bale's Acta Romanorum Pontificum, p. 420. Francof. 1567, or p. 524, Lugd. Bat. 1615. Compare Foxe's Acts and Monuments, i. 834. Lond. 1684, for two Epigrams, one by Melancthon. The warlike tastes and habits of this Bishop of Rome are strikingly pourtrayed in the Dialogue, *Julius Exclusus*. See Münch's edition of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, pp. 428–457. Leipsic, 1827.

§ 'women of Sacraments.' The Sarum Manual, fol. xxxv b. Lond. 1555, enjoins the Priest to take care that his Parishioners generally are duly prepared, in case of need, to use the baptismal formula correctly, either in the vernacular or in Latin. In the Roman Ritual, p. 7. Antwerp, 1625, this direction is given: 'Curare debet Parochus, ut fideles, praesertim obstetrices, rectum baptizandi ritum probe teneant et servent.' The Paris Ritual, pp. 49, 1654, rules that a midwife, on being elected to her office, shall be taught by the Parish Priest the form and matter of Baptism, and admonished as to the circumstances under which it may be right for her to administer it; and, p. 50, furnishes a form of Oath which she is to take before her name is entered in the Register book of Baptisms.

The two Prayer Books of Edward VI, 1549 and 1552, and that of Elizabeth, 1539, virtually confirmed the usage existing previously to the Reformation. Bucer made no objection to the office of Private Baptism. Scripta Anglicana, p. 481. The Oath taken by Eleanor Pead, when licensed by the Archbishop, in the same year, to act as a midwife, is given by Strype, Annals, i. pt. 2. 242. 8vo. But that a feeling against the license showed itself very early, may be gathered from a Letter of Grindal, when Bishop of London, to Zanchy. 'quum ad mulieres, quibus adesse solis parientibus licet, verbis non apertis, sed tacitis devolvi videatur, multorum reprehensione non caret.' Strype, Life of Grindal, 493. Beza, in a Letter to certain brethren of the English Churches, written in 1567, pronounced the administration of Baptism by Midwives altogether intolerable. ibid. 513.

Of the three points in the Common Prayer Book propounded by James I. to the Hampton Court Conference, the Private Baptism by women was one; and, after some discussion, the Rubric, 'Let them that be present,' was then altered to, 'Let the lawful Minister, and them

§. 50. The abiding therein with God, requireth 1°. a Conscience of the duties of the general Calling;

50. But yet *abide with God.* That clause was not added for nothing: it teacheth thee also some duties. First, so to demean thyself in thy particular Calling, as that thou do nothing but what may stand with thy general Calling. Magistrate, or Minister, or Lawyer, or Merchant, or Artificer, or whatsoever other thou art, remember thou art withal a Christian. Pretend not the necessities of thy particular Calling[1] to any breach of the least of those Laws of God, which must rule thy general Calling. God is the author of both Callings, of thy general Calling, and of thy particular Calling too. Do not think He hath called thee to service in the one, and to liberty in the other; to justice in the one, and to cousenage in the other; to simplicity in the one, and to dissimulation in the other; to holiness in the one, and to profaneness in the other; in a word, to an entire and universal obedience in the one, and to any kind or degree of disobedience in the other.

§. 51. 2°. a Care of the Exercises of Religion;

51. It teacheth thee, secondly, not to ingulf thyself so wholly into the businesses of thy particular Calling, as to abridge thyself of convenient opportunities for the exercise of those religious duties, which thou art bound to perform by virtue of thy general Calling, as prayer, confession, thanksgiving, meditation, &c. God alloweth thee to serve thyself; but He commandeth thee to serve Him too. Be not thou so all for thyself, as to forget Him; but as thou art ready to embrace that liberty which He hath given thee, to serve thyself, so make a conscience to perform those duties which He hath required of thee for His service. Work, and spare not; but yet pray too, or else work not. Prayer is the means to procure a blessing upon thy labours, from His hands, who never faileth to serve them that never fail to serve Him. Did ever any man *serve God for nought?* A man cannot have so comfortable assurance that he shall prosper in the affairs he taketh in hand, by any other means, as by making God the Alpha and Omega of his endeavours; by beginning them in

Job i. 9.

that be present.' Barlow, Sum and Substance, pp. 8, 86, or in Cardwell's History of Conferences, pp. 172, 205, 219.

The Greek Church, it appears from Goar's Euchologion, 370, did not allow the Sacrament to be administered by any but a lawful Minister, even in extreme cases.

[1] Jam illa objici solita vox, Non habeo aliud quo vivam, [districtius repercuti potest, Vivere ergo habes. quid tibi cum Deo est? si tuis legibus.] Tertull. de Idol. 5. ibid. cap. 12. Pulchre.

His Name, and directing them to His glory. Neither is this a point of duty only, in regard of God's command, or a point of Wisdom only, to make our labours successful; but it is a point of justice too, as due by way of restitution. We make bold with His Day, and dispense with some of that time which He hath sanctified unto His service, for our own necessities.* It is equal we should allow Him at least as much of ours, as we borrow of His, though it be for our necessities or lawful comforts. But if we rob Him of some of His time, as too often we do, employing it in our own businesses, without the warrant of a just necessity, we are to know that it is theft, yea, theft in the highest degree, sacrilege; and that therefore we are bound, at least as far as petty thieves were in the Law, to a fourfold restitution. Abide in thy Calling, by doing thine own part, and labouring faithfully; but yet so, as God's part be not forgotten, in serving Him daily.

Exod. xxii. 1. 2 Sam. xii. 6.

§ 52. 3°. Watchfulness against the special sins of the Calling.

52. It teacheth thee, thirdly, to watch over the special sins of thy particular Calling. Sins, I mean, not that cleave necessarily to the Calling, for then the very Calling itself should be unlawful; but sins, unto the temptations whereof the condition of thy Calling layeth thee open, more than it doth unto other sins, or more than some other Callings would do unto the same sins; and wherewith, whilst thou art stirring about the businesses of thy Calling, thou mayest be soonest overtaken, if thou dost not heedfully watch over thyself and them. The Magistrate's sins, partiality and injustice; the Minister's sins, sloth and flattery; the Lawyer's sins, maintenance † and collusion; the Merchant's sins, lying and deceitfulness; the Courtier's sins, ambition and dissimulation; the Great Man's sins, pride and oppression; the Gentleman's sins, riot and prodigality; the Officer's sins, bribery and extortion; the Countryman's sins, envy and discontentedness; the Servant's sins, talebearing and purloining. In every state and condition of life there is a

[Titus ii. 10.]

* Compare Sermon ii. ad Clerum, §. 18, Sermon iii. ad Magistr. §. 26, and the Answer to the Third Question in the Case of the Sabbath.

† 'maintenance,' ('*manutentio vel manutenentia*) is a French word, and signifieth the upholding of a cause or person, metaphorically drawn from the succouring of a child, that learneth to go by one's hand. In our common Law, it is used, in the evil part, for him that secondeth a cause depending in suit between others, either by lending of money, or making friends for either party towards his help.' Cowell, Interpreter. Cambr. 1607.

kind of opportunity to some special sin, wherein if our watchfulness be not the greater, mainly to oppose it and keep it out, we cannot *abide therein with God.*

All that I have done all this while, in my passage over this Scripture, is but this. I have proved the necessity of having a Calling, laid down directions for the choice and trial of our Callings, and showed what is required of us in the use of our Callings for the abiding therein with God. And having thus dispatched my message, it is now time I should spare both your ears and my own sides. God grant that every one of us may remember so much of what hath been taught as is needful for each of us, and faithfully apply it unto our own souls and consciences, and make a profitable and seasonable use of it in the whole course of our lives, even for Jesus Christ's sake, His Blessed Son, and our alone Saviour. To whom, &c.

SERMON V.*

AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS,† LONDON, NOV. 21, 1624.‡

I Tim. iv. 4.

For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.

§. 1. The Coherence,

OF that great and universal apostasy which should be in the Church, through the tyranny and fraud of Antichrist, there are elsewhere in the Scriptures more full, scarce any where more plain predictions, than in this passage of St. Paul, whereof my Text is a part. The quality of the doctrines foretold, verse 1: contrary to the Faith, erroneous, devilish: *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the later times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of Devils.* The quality of the doctors foretold, verse 2: liars, hypocritical, unconscionable: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron.* But lest these generalities should seem not sufficiently distinctive, each side charging other, as commonly it happeneth where differences are about Religion, with apostasy, and error,

* See the Dedication prefixed to the preceding Sermon.

† The Preachers at S. Paul's Cross were nominated by the Bishop of London. See Stow's Chronicle, i. 644. 1765, or Maitland's History of London, ii. 948. Strype gives a Letter from Bp. Sandys to Lord Burghley, in which complaint is made of seditious language introduced into some of the Sermons, in his Life of Whitgift, iii. 32. 8°; and a list of several Preachers between April and October 1559, in his Annals, I. i. 198.

To Dr. George Mountain, who was translated to London from the See of Lincoln in July 1621, Sanderson must have been personally known, as for three years an incumbent in his previous Diocese.

‡ Four years and a half later than the time assigned by Pennant as the date of the last Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, viz. Mid Lent Sunday, 1620. The Editors of Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral have given proofs of there having been preaching there in 1627 and 1630. p. 91. In 1633 the Sermons were removed to the Quire of the Church, p. 105.

and falsehood, and hypocrisy, the Apostle thought it needful to point out those antichristian doctors more distinctly, by specifying some particulars of their devilish doctrines. For which
Verse 3. purpose he giveth instance in two of their doctrines, whereof he maketh choice, not as being simply the worst of all the rest, though bad enough, but as being more easily discernable than most of the rest, viz. a prohibition of marriage, and an injunction of abstinence from certain meats. Which particulars, being so agreeable to the present tenets of the Romish Synagogue, do give, even of themselves alone, a strong suspicion that there is the seat of Antichrist. But joined unto the other
2 Thess. ii. 3, &c. Apoc xiii. 11, &c. prophecies of St. Paul and St. John in other places, make it so unquestionable, that they who will needs be so unreasonably charitable as to think the Pope is not Antichrist, may at the least wonder, as one saith well,[a] by what strange chance it fell out, that these Apostles should draw the picture of Antichrist, in every point and limb, so just like the Pope, and yet never think of him.

§. 2. Scope; 2. The words of the Text are the ground of a Confutation, indeed properly and directly of the later of these two errors only, concerning abstinence from certain meats; but yet so as it strongly overthroweth the other two, concerning marriage, and in truth, generally, all other superstitious precepts, or prohibitions, of like nature. Marriage being the holy ordinance of God, as meats are the good Creatures of God; and neither marriage, nor meats, nor any other creature or ordinance being to be refused as upon tye of Conscience, provided ever they be received with such thankfulness, and such other requisite conditions, as become Christian men. *For every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.*

§. 3. and Division of the Text. 3. Which words give us occasion to consider of three points, which, according to the number and order of the several clauses in this verse, are these. First, the Quality of God's creatures, as they come from Him, and are given to us: *Every creature of God is good.* Secondly, the Use of God's creatures, consisting in their lawfulness unto us, and our liberty unto

[a] Moulin's Accomplishment [of the Prophecies, or the Third Book in Defence of the Catholic Faith.] in the Preface. [p. 14. of the Translation by J. Heath.]

them: *And nothing to be refused.* Thirdly, a Condition necessary on our parts, lest the creatures, otherwise good and lawful, should become unto us evil and hurtful; and that is Thankfulness: *If it be received with thanksgiving.* The two first set out the bounty of God towards us, who hath made a world of creatures, and all good, and hath not envied us the use of any of them; and the third containeth our duty unto God in regard thereof; viz. to return unto Him, for the free use of all His good creatures, the tribute of our thanks. Of these three points it is my purpose, by God's grace, and with your patience, to speak in such manner as shall be most for our edification, in such measure as the usual hours will allow, and in such Order as the Text giveth them; and first of the First, from the first clause thereof: *Every creature of God is good.*

§. 4. Observation I. The Goodness of the Creature declared: Gen. i. 1. Exod. xx. 11. Col. i. 16.

4. By *creature* understand not only such as are appointed for nourishment, but even all kind of created beings, the Heaven and the earth, and all things therein contained, visible and invisible, with all their several properties and accidents. Of all and each of these the Apostle's assertion is true, *Every creature of God is good.* He concludeth all kinds of meats to be good, because, they are the creatures of God: which argument were not good, if every creature were not good. And by goodness understand, not only that goodness *ad intra*, whereby every thing is simply and metaphysically good, in regard of the nature, perfection, and being thereof; but that goodness *ad extra* too, whereby every thing is in the kind and in some measure endowed with an ability to do some good without and beyond itself. You may call them an absolute, and a relative goodness.[b] And every creature hath both of these. There being in the meanest and basest of God's creatures, not only an absolute goodness, whereby it is perfect in its proper kind, *qua ens*, as it hath a being and existence, but also a relative goodness too, and that twofold. One, respecting God the Creator, whose glory more or less it serveth to show forth, *qua creatura*, as it is the work of His hands. Another, respecting its fellow-creatures,[c] to some of whom it is some way or other serviceable, *qua pars Mundi*, as it is a part of the Whole; but

[b] Vid. [Jul. Caes.] Scaliger. Exerc. 307. sect. 27. [pp. 978, 9. Francof. 1607.]

[c] *πάντα γὰρ τἀγαθὰ ὠφέλιμα.* Plato, in Menon. [§. 23. tom. ii. 87.] et in Protag. [§§. 60, 61.]

especially serviceable unto man, for whose service, next under the glory of God, the whole was created. The sum is, Every creature which God hath made is good. Good, absolutely and in itself, as a thing; good, in that it setteth forth the Glory of Him that made it, as a creature; good, as a part of the world, for the service it doth to man and other creatures.

§. 5. with the Proof

5. Hereof we need neither further nor other testimony, than God's own approbation registered in the story of the Creation, where we may see God's allowance stamped, both upon the several creatures of each several day, that they were good, and also upon the whole frame of the creatures, when the work was finished, that, behold, they were *exceeding good,**

Gen. i. 4, 12, 18, 21, 25.

Verse 31.

Et nusquam in toto corpore menda fuit. †

In this goodly system and fabric of Nature that which is beyond all, is, the harmony and conjuncture of the parts, exceeding in goodness, beauty, and perfection: yet so, as no one part is superfluous or unprofitable; or, if considered singly and by itself, destitute of its proper goodness and usefulness. As in the natural body of a man, not the least member, or string, or sinew, but hath his proper office and comeliness in the body; and as in the artificial body of a clock or other engine of motion, not the least wheel, or pin, or notch, but hath his proper work and use in the engine. God hath given to every thing He hath made, that number, weight, and measure of perfection and goodness, which He saw fittest for it unto those ends for which He made it. *Every creature of God is good.*

Wisd. xi. 20.

§. 6. and Ground thereof.

6. A truth so evident, that even those among the Heathen Philosophers, who either denied or doubted of the world's creation, did yet, by making *Ens* and *Bonum* terms convertible,[d] acknowledge the goodness of every creature. It were a shame then for us, who *through faith understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God,* if our assent unto this truth should not be by so much firmer than theirs, by how much our evidence for it is stronger than theirs. They

Heb. xi. 3.

* '*exceeding good.*' So in Coverdale, Cranmer, and Parker. The Authorized Version followed the Geneva and the Rhemish.

† *In toto nusquam corpore menda fuit.* Ovid, Amor. Eleg. v. 18.

[d] τἀγαθὸν ἰσαχῶς λέγεται τῷ ὄντι. Aristot. Nicom. Ethic. i. 6. [3.]

perceived the thing: we the ground also: they saw, it was so; we, why it is so. Even because it is the work of God, a God full of goodness, a God who is nothing but goodness, a God essentially and infinitely good,[e] yea, very Goodness itself. As is the workman, such is his workmanship.[f] Not for degree, (that is here impossible,) but for the truth of the quality: not alike good with Him, but like to Him in being good. In every creature there are certain tracks and footsteps, as of God's essence, whereby it hath its being, so of His goodness too, whereby it also is good. The Manichees saw the strength of this inference,[g] who, though they were so injurious unto the creatures, as to repute some of them evil, yet durst not be so absurd, as to charge the true God to be the cause of those they so reputed. Common reason taught them, that from the good God could not proceed any evil thing, no more than darkness could from the light of the Sun, or cold from the heat of the fire. And therefore, so to defend their error as to avoid this absurdity, they were forced to maintain another absurdity, indeed a greater, though it seemed to them the less of the two: viz. to say, there were two Gods, a good God, the Author of all good things, and an evil God, the Author of all evil things. If then we acknowledge that there is but one God, and that one God good, and we do all so acknowledge, unless we will be more absurd than those most absurd Hereticks, we must withal acknowledge all the creatures of that one and good God to be also good. He is so the causer of all that is good; for *Every good gift and every perfect giving* descendeth from above, from the Father of lights:* as that He is the causer only of what is good; for *with Him is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,* saith St. James. As the Sun, who is *pater luminum,* the fountain and father of lights, whereunto St. James in that passage doth apparently allude, giveth light to

1 Cor. viii. 6.

S. James i. 17.

[e] Pars naturae eorum est, esse bonos. (De Diis) Seneca [Epist. 95.]

[f] ὁ Θεός τε καὶ πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄριστα ἔχει. Plato in Timaeo. [This reference was first inserted in the margin of the fourth Edition. It seems to have been meant for the general drift, not for the very words of Plato, e. g. §. 10. βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν, κ. τ. λ.]

[g] See Augustin. passim in scriptis contra Manichaeos.

* '*perfect giving.*' Compare the Quotation of this Text in Sermon iii. ad Clerum, §. 19. and in Sermon xiii. ad Aulam, §. 6.

the moon and stars and all the lights of Heaven, and causeth light wheresoever he shineth, but no where causeth darkness; so God, the Father and fountain of all goodness, so communicateth goodness to every thing He produceth, as that He cannot produce any thing at all, but that which is good.[h] *Every creature of God* then *is good.*

§. 7. Inferences thence. The first:

7. Which being so, certainly then, first, to raise some Inferences from the premisses for our further instruction and use, certainly, I say, sin, and death, and such things as are evil and not good, are not of God's making, they are none of His creatures, for all His creatures are good. *Let no man* therefore *say when he is tempted* and overcome of sin, *I am tempted of God:* neither let any man say when he hath done evil, it was God's doing. God indeed preserveth the man, actuateth the power, and ordereth the action to the glory of His Mercy or Justice; but He hath no hand at all in the sinful defect and obliquity of a wicked action. There is a natural, or rather transcendental, goodness, *bonitas entis,* as they call it, in every action, even in that whereto the greatest sin adhereth; and that goodness is from God, as that action is His creature.[i] But the evil that cleaveth unto it is wholly from the default of the person that committeth it, and not at all from God. And as for the evils of pain also, neither are they of God's making. *Deus mortem non fecit,* saith the Author of the Book of Wisdom, *God made not death, neither doth He take pleasure in the destruction of the living; but wicked men by their words and works have brought it upon themselves. Perditio tua ex te, Israel, O Israel, thy destruction is from thyself:* that is, both thy sin, whereby thou destroyest thyself, and thy misery, whereby thou art destroyed, is only and wholly from thyself. Certainly, God is not the cause of any evil, either of sin or punishment. Conceive it thus: not the cause of it formally, and so far forth as it is evil. For otherwise, we must know that, materially considered, all evils of punishment are from God; for, *shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* In evils of sin, there is

S. James i. 13.

Wisdom i. 13.

Hosea xiii. 9.

Amos iii. 6.

[h] Errat, si quis putet illos (Deos) nocere velle: non possunt. Seneca Epist. 95. nec dant malum, nec habent. ibid.

[i] Mali auctor non est, qui omnium quae sunt auctor est; quia in quantum sunt, in tantum bona sunt. Augustin. lib. de Div. Quaest. 83. Qu. 21. [tom. vi. 5 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

no other, but only that natural or transcendental goodness, whereof we spake, in the action; which goodness, though it be from God, yet, because the action is morally bad, God is not said to do it. But in evils of punishment, there is, over and besides that natural goodness, whereby they exist, a kind of moral goodness, as we may call it, after a sort; improperly, and by way of reduction, as they are instruments of the Justice of God; and whatsoever may be referred to Justice, may so far forth be called good; and for that very goodness, God may be said in some sort to be the Author of these evils of punishment, though not also of those other evils of sin. In both, we must distinguish the good from the evil, and ascribe all the good, whatsoever it be, transcendental, natural, moral, or if there be any other, to God alone; but by no means any of the evil. We are unthankful, if we impute any good but to Him; and we are unjust, if we impute to Him any thing but good.

§. 8. the second: Wisd. xiii. 1, &c.

8. Secondly, from the goodness of the least creature, guess we at the excellent goodness of the great Creator. *Ex pede Herculem.*[k] God hath imprinted, as before I said, some steps and footings of His goodness in the creatures, from which we must take the best scantling* we are capable of, of those admirable and inexpressible and unconceivable perfections that are in Him. There is no beholding of the body of this Sun, who dwelleth in such a glorious light as none can attain unto: that glory would dazzle with blindness the sharpest and most eagly eye that should dare to fix itself upon it with any stedfastness. Enough it is for us, from those rays and glimmering beams[l] which He hath scattered upon the creatures, to gather how infinitely He exceedeth them in brightness and glory. *De Ipso vides, sed non Ipsum:* We see His, but not Him. His creatures, they are our best, indeed, our only instructers. For though His revealed Word teach us what we should never have learned from the creatures without it, yet, fitted to our

1 Tim. vi. 16.

[k] A. Gellius, Noct. Att. i. 1.

* 'scantling,' *measurement, estimate.* Compare Sermon ix. ad Aulam, §. 17.

[l] Tanta haec formarum varietas [atque numerositas specierum] in rebus conditis, quid nisi quidam sunt radii Deitatis? monstrantes quidem quia vere sit a quo sunt, non tamen quid sit, prorsus diffinientes. [Itaque de Ipso vides, sed non Ipsum.] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 31. [§. 3. tom. i. col. 1381 A. ed. Bened.]

capacity, it teacheth no otherwise, than by resemblances taken from the creatures. Τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, as St. Paul calleth it; the whole latitude of that which may be known of God is manifest in the creatures; and *the invisible things of God* not to be *understood* but *by things that are made.* St. Basil therefore calleth the world Θεογνωσίας παιδευτήριον,[m] the very school where the knowledge of God is to be learned; and there is a double way of teaching, a twofold method of training us up into that knowledge in that school: that is to say, *per viam negationis*, and *per viam eminentiae.*[n] First, *via negationis*:[o] look† whatsoever thou findest in the creature, which savoureth of defect or imperfection, and know God is not such. Are they not limited, subject to change, composition, decay, &c.? Remove these from God, and learn that He is infinite, simple, unchangeable, eternal. Then *via eminentiae*: look† whatsoever perfection there is in the creature in any degree, and know that the same, but infinitely and incomparably more eminently, is in God. Is there wisdom, or knowledge, or power, or beauty, or greatness, or goodness, in any kind or in any measure, in any of the creatures? Affirm the same, but without measure, of God; and learn that He is infinitely wiser, and skilfuller, and stronger, and fairer, and greater, and better. In every good thing so differently excellent above and beyond the creatures, as that, though yet they be good, yet compared with Him they deserve not the name of good: *There is none good but one, that is God.* None good, as He: simply, and absolutely, and essentially, and of Himself such. The creatures, that they are good, they have it from Him, and their goodness dependeth upon Him; and they are good but in part, and in some measure, and in their own kinds.

Rom. i. 19, 20.

S. Mark x. 18.

[m] Basil. [in Hexaemeron, Hom. i. ψυχῶν διδασκαλεῖον λογικῶν καὶ θεογνοίας.]

[n] Aquinas, Prim. Quaest. 12. art. 12. [Unde cognoscimus de ipso habitudinem ipsius ad creaturas; quod scilicet omnium est causa; et differentiam creaturarum ab ipso, quod scilicet ipse non est aliquid eorum quae ab eo causantur, et quod haec non removentur ab eo propter ejus defectum, sed quia super excedit.]

[o] ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἀδύνατον κατ' οὐσίαν· οἰκειότερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς ἁπάντων ἀφαιρέσεως ποιεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον. Johan. Damascen. de Fid. Orthod. i. 4. [tom. i. 127 E. ed. Le Quien.]

† 'look,' *look for, observe.* In the Herefordshire Glossary, to look a thing, is, *to look for a thing.* Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Night Walker, iii. 1. 'I am no conjurer, you may look the body.'

Whensoever therefore we find any good from, or observe any goodness in any of the creatures, let us not bury our meditations there, but raise them up by those stairs, as it were, of the creatures, to contemplate the great goodness of Him, their Creator. We are unhappy truants, if in this so richly furnished school of God's good creatures, we have not learned from them at the least so much knowledge of Him and His goodness, as to admire and love and depend upon it and Him. Look upon the workmanship, and accordingly judge of the workman. *Every creature of God is good:* surely then the Creator must needs excel in goodness.

§. 9. the third.

9. Thirdly, there is in men, amongst other cursed fruits of self-love, an aptness to measure things, not by the level of exact truth, but by the model of their own apprehensions.[p] Who is there that cannot fault* another's work? The cobbler[q] could espy something amiss in Apelles his masterpiece, because the picture was not drawn just according to his fancy. If a thousand of us hear a sermon, scarce one of that thousand but he must show some of that little wit he hath in disliking something or other. There the Preacher was too elaborate, here too loose; that point he might have enlarged, contracted this; he might have been plainer there, showed more learning here; that observation was obvious, that exposition enforced, that proof impertinent, that illustration common, that exhortation needless, that reproof unseasonable: one misliketh his Text, another his method, a third his style, a fourth his voice, a fifth his memory; every one something. A fault more pardonable if our censures stayed at the works of men, like ourselves, and, Momus-like,[r] we did not quarrel† the works of God also, and

[p] [Nec audiendi sunt, qui laudant in igne lucem, ardorem autem vituperant: videlicet] non ex sui natura, sed ex suo commodo vel incommodo. [Videre enim volunt, ardere nolunt.] August. de Civ. Dei. xii. 4. [tom. vii. 303 G. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

* 'fault.' Compare below, §. 48. So Bp. Hall, Quo Vadis? sect. 15. 'He cannot mislike the love of his countrymen: he cannot fault their carriage.' Hacket, Life of Williams, i. 13. 'who fault them above all,' &c. and again, 83. 'Pliny the younger had been faulted, that he had excused some more than they deserved.' And in the Answer of the Bishops to the Exceptions of the Ministers at the Savoy Conference: 'That which you here fault, you elsewhere desire.' Cardwell, 360.

[q] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 10. [See above, the previous Sermon, §. 49.]

[r] Lucian, in Hermotimo. [§. 20. tom. iv. 30. ed. Lehmann.]

† 'quarrel.' Compare the use of this verb in Sermon iii. ad Magistr. §. 13.

charge many of His good creatures, either with manifest ill, or at leastwise with unprofitableness. Why was this made? or why thus? what good doth this, or what use of that? It had perhaps been better, if this or that had never been, or if they had been otherwise. Thus we sometimes say or think. To rectify this corruption, remember this first clause of my Text, *Every creature of God is good.*[t] Perhaps thou seest not what good there is in some of the creatures? like enough so; but yet consider, there may be much good which thou seest not. Say, it giveth thee no nourishment: possibly it may do thee service in some other kind.[u] Say, it never yet did that; yet it may do hereafter. Later times have found out much good use of many creatures,[x] whereof former ages were ignorant; and why may not after times find good in those things which do us none? Say, it never did, nor ever shall do service to man, (although who can tell that?) yet who knoweth but it hath done, or may do service to some other creature, that doth service to man? Say, not that neither: yet this good thou mayest reap even from such creatures as seem to afford none; to take knowledge of thine own ignorance,[y] and to humble thyself thereby, who art so far from comprehending the essence, that thou canst not comprehend the very works of God. The most unprofitable creatures profit us, at least this way, *visu, si non usu,*[z] as Bernard speaketh: if not to use them, yet to see in them as in a glass God's wisdom and our own ignorance. And so they do us good, if not *cedendo in cibum,*[a] if not *exhibendo ministerium,* in feeding and serving us, yet *exercendo ingenium,* as the same Bernard speak-

See Eccles. xxxix. 16—21.

[t] ... ne tanti artificis opus in aliquo reprehendere vanitate humanae temeritatis audeamus. Augustin. de Civ. Dei xii. 4. [tom. vii. 303 D.]

[u] *τὰ μὲν πρὸς βρῶσιν .... τὰ δὲ πρὸς διακονίαν .... τὰ δὲ πρὸς τέρψιν, ... τὰ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων ἴασιν.* Johan. Damascen. de Fid. Orthod. i. 10. [tom. i. p. 172 D, E. ed. Le Quien.]

[x] Quam multa animalia hoc primum cognovimus saeculo! et quidem multa venientis aevi populus ignota nobis sciet. Seneca, Nat. Quaest. vii. 31.

[y] Utitur [etiam corporibus quibusdam vivificandis ad beneficentiam; sic enim utitur suo corpore:] quibusdam assumendis vel respuendis ad valetudinem, quibusdam tolerandis ad patientiam, quibusdam ordinandis ad justitiam, quibusdam considerandis ad aliquod veritatis documentum: [utitur etiam iis a quibus se abstinet, ad temperantiam.] Augustin. de Divers. Quaest. 83. Qu. 30.

[z] Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 5. [Prosunt profecto visu, etsi non usu. Opp. tom. i. col. 1276 B. ed. Ben. Paris. 1690.]

[a] ibid.

eth, in exercising our wits, and giving us a sight of our ignorance.

§. 10. A Doubt removed.

10. But yet those creatures, which are apparently hurtful to us, as serpents, and wild beasts, and sundry poisonous plants, but above all, the devils, and cursed Angels,—may we not say, they are ill, and justly both blame and hate them? Even these also are good, as they are the creatures of God, and the workmanship of His hands. It is only through sin that they are evil, either to us, as the rest, or in themselves, as the devils. These now wicked Angels were glorious creatures at the first: by their own voluntary transgression it is, that they are now the worst and the basest. And as for all the other creatures of God, made to do us service, they were at first, and still are good in themselves. If there cleaveth to them any evil, whereby they become hurtful to us, that is by accident; and we have to thank none but ourselves for that. For who or what could have harmed us, if we had been followers of that which was good? It was not of their own accord, but through our sinfulness, that the creatures became subject unto vanity, and capable either to do, or to suffer ill. They had been still harmless, if we had been still faultless: it was our sin,[b] that at once forfeited both our innocency and theirs. If then we see any ill in them, or find any ill by them, let us not lay the blame, or wreak our hatred upon them: let us rather bestow our blame and hatred where it is most due; the blame upon ourselves, the hatred upon our sins. If Balaam had done justly, he should have spared the ass, and have corrected himself; but the false Prophet doth the fault, and the poor beast must bear both blame and strokes. When we suffer, we curse, or, at the easiest, blame the creatures. This weather, that flood, such a storm, hath blasted our fruits, sanded our grounds,* shipwreckt our wares, and undone us. When,

[1 S. Pet. iii. 13.]

Rom. viii. 20.

Num. xxii. 27, &c.

[b] [*ἐπειδὴ δι' αὐτὸν ἅπαντα ταῦτα παρήχθη, τούτου μέλλοντος ἀφανίζεσθαι εἰκότως καὶ*] *ταῦτα συναπολαύει τῆς ἀπωλείας.* Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. 240 C. ed. Ben.]

* 'sanded our grounds.' This, and similar expressions, are still in use in Lincolnshire in reference to the deposit left by the flooding of the Trent. For an example of mischief of like kind, on a larger scale, see the Chronicle of John Brompton, in Twysden's Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem. col. 1003. line 21. 'His temporibus, gens Flandriae, propter desolationem patriae suae per jactantiam aequoreae arenae, locum habitandi a Rege Henrico expetiit.'

alas, these have neither heart nor strength against us, but what ourselves put into them by our sins. Every sense of evil thereof in or from the creatures should work in us a sense of our disobedience unto God, should increase in us a detestation of the sins we have committed against God, should teach us by condemning ourselves to acquit the good creatures of God; which as they are good in themselves, so should they have been ever and only good unto us, if we had been true to ourselves, and continued good and faithful servants unto God. They are all good: do not thou accuse any of them, and say they are evil: do not thou abuse any of them, and make them evil.

§. 11. Observation II. Our Liberty to the Creatures.

11. Hitherto of the first point, the goodness of the creatures: *Every creature of God is good.* Followeth the second, which is their Use, consisting in their lawfulness unto us, and our liberty unto them: *Every creature of God is good: and nothing to be refused. Nothing:* that is, most agreeably to the argument of the former verse, nothing fit for food; but more generally, and so I rather think the Apostle intendeth it, no creature of God, whereof we may have use or service in any kind whatsoever.* *Nothing* which may yield us any comfortable content for the support of this life, in point of health, ease, profit, delight, or otherwise, with due sobriety, and other requisite conditions: *nothing* is to be refused. By which refusal the Apostle meaneth not a bare forbearance of the things; for that we both may, and in many cases ought, so to refuse some of the creatures shall anon appear; but the thing he forbiddeth is the forbearance of the creature, as upon immediate tye of Conscience, viz. either out of a superstitious opinion of the unlawfulness of any creature, for some supposed natural or legal uncleanness in it; or, out of a like superstitious opinion, in some extraordinary perfection, or operative and effectual holiness in such refusal. The point is this. All the creatures of God are lawful for us to use: so as it is against Christian liberty, either to charge the use of them with sin, or to place holiness in the abstaining from them.

§. 12. Without

12. Our Apostle often teacheth this point. In Romans xiv,

* In the Geneva Bible, the verse is thus rendered: *For all the creatures of God are good, and nothing* ought *to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving.*

at verse 20, *All things are pure;* and, at verse 14 there, he delivereth it as a certain truth, and upon knowledge, *I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself;* and therefore he imputeth it as an error and weakness in judgment, to them that refused some kind of meats out of a superstitious opinion, or but timorous fear, of their unlawfulness, at verse 2, *One believeth he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs:* and in 1 Cor. x, *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience sake:* and anon, verse 27, *If an unbeliever bid you to a feast, and you be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* And to the end we might know the liberty he there giveth, to extend to all other creatures, as well as meats, he pronounceth of them all universally at verse 23, Πάντα μοι ἔξεστι, *All things are lawful for me.* And so he doth in Titus i. 15, universally too: *Omnia munda mundis, To the pure all things are pure.* From all which testimonies we may conclude there is no unlawfulness or impurity in any of the creatures, but that we may, with security of conscience, freely use them without sin. If we use them doubtingly against conscience, or indiscreetly against charity, or otherwise inordinately against sobriety, they become indeed in such cases sinful unto us. But that is through our default, not their's, who sinfully abuse that which we might lawfully use. And that abuse of our's neither defileth the things themselves, nor ought to prejudice the liberty of another that may use them well.

either Sin in the use,

Verse 25.

Rom. xiv. 14. 1 Cor. x. 29, 30.

§. 13. or merit in the forbearance.

13. And as there is no sin in the use, so neither is there any religion or perfection to be placed in the refusal of any of God's creatures. Rather, on the contrary, to abstain from any of them, out of a conceit of any such perfection or holiness, is itself a sinful superstition. Our Apostle ranketh it with idolatrous Angel-worship, and condemneth it as sinful and superstitious,* Coloss. ii. from verse 16 to the end of the chapter. The subjecting of ourselves to those and such like ordinances, *Touch not, Taste not, Handle not,* though it may *have a show of wisdom in will-worship, and in a voluntary*

* 'as sinful and superstitious.' So first in the fourth Edition, previous to which it stood, 'as a Will-worship.'

humility and neglecting of the body, yet it is derogatory to that liberty wherein Christ hath set us free, and a reviving of those *rudiments of the world*, from which we are dead with Christ. *Every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused*, out of a superstitious either fear of unlawfulness, or opinion of holiness.

§. 14. Our right by Creation,

14. Now the ground of this our right or liberty unto the creatures is double: the one, God's ordinance at the first Creation, the other, Christ's purchase in the work of Redemption. At the Creation, God made all things for man's use, as He did man for His own service; and as He reserved to Himself His absolute sovereignty over man, so He gave unto man a kind of limited sovereignty over the Creatures. *He hath put all things in subjection under* our *feet*, saith David.[c] Which dominion over the creatures was one special branch of that glorious *image of God* in us, after which we were created; and therefore was not, nor could be absolutely lost by sin,[d] but only decayed and defaced and impaired, as the other branches of that image were. So that, albeit man by sin lost a great part of his sovereignty, τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠκρωτηριάσθη, as speaketh St. Chrysostome,[e] especially so far as concerneth the execution of it, many of the creatures being now rebellious and noisome unto man, and unanswering his commands and expectations, yet the right still remaineth even in corrupt nature; and there are still to be found some tracings and characters, as in man of superiority, so in them of subjection. But those, dim, and confused, and scarce legible:[f] as in old marbles, and coins, and out-worn inscriptions, we have much ado to find out what some of the letters were.*

Gen. i. 26. Ps. viii. 6. Gen. i. 27.

§. 15. and Redemption.

15. But if by sin we had lost all that first title we had to

[c] .... quod nos in hoc pulcherrimo domicilio voluerunt (Dii) secundas sortiri, quod terrenis praefecerunt. Seneca, de Benef. ii. 29.

[d] Ita bonis naturae mala adventitia, dum non succedunt, sed accedunt, turpant utique ea, non exterminant; conturbant, non deturbant. Bernard, in Cant. Serm. 82. [§. 5. tom. i. 1555 F. ed. Ben.]

[e] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 9. [tom. iv. p. 68. C. ed. Ben.]

[f] διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως [τῆς ἐντολῆς] τοὺς τῆς θείας εἰκόνος χαρακτῆρας ἐζοφώσαμέν τε καὶ συνεχέαμεν. Damasc. de Fid. Orthod. iv. 4. [tom. i. p. 255 B. ed. Le Quien.]

* The Reader will bear in mind Walton's testimony to Sanderson's delight in Antiquarian researches, 'The study of old Records, Genealogies, and Heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind.'

the creature wholly and utterly, yet, as God hath been pleased graciously to deal with us, we are fully as well as before. God the Father hath granted us, and God the Son hath acquired us, and God the Holy Ghost hath sealed us, a new Patent. By it, whatsoever defect is, or can be supposed to be, in our old evidence, is supplied; and by virtue of it, we may make fresh challenge, and renew our claim unto the creatures. The Blessed Son of God *having made peace through the blood of His Cross*, hath reconciled us to His Father; and therein also reconciled the creatures both to us and Him: reconciling by Him, saith our Apostle, *πάντα, all things*, not men only, *unto Himself*. For God having given us His Son, *the heir of all things*, hath He not with Him given us all things else? Hath He not permitted us the free use of His creatures in as ample right as ever? If the Son have made us free, we are free indeed. And as verily as Christ is God's, so verily, if we be Christ's, all things are our's. This Apostle setteth down the whole series and form of this spiritual Hierarchy, if I may so speak, this subjection and subordination of the creatures to man, of man to Christ, of Christ to God. *All are your's, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.*

Col. i. 20. Heb. i. 2. Rom. viii. 32. S. John viii. 36. 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.

16. Strengthened with this double title, what should hinder us from possession? Why may we not freely use that liberty which was once given us by God, and again restored us by Jesus Christ? Why should we not stand fast in, and contend earnestly for the maintenance of that liberty, wherewith Christ hath set us free? by rejecting all fancies, opinions, and doctrines, that any way trench upon this our Christian prerogative, or seek either to shorten, or to corrupt, our freedom unto, and power over the creatures. First, if any shall oppose the legal prohibitions of the Old Testament, whereby some Creatures were forbidden the Jews, pronounced by God Himself unclean, and decreed unlawful, it should not trouble us. For, whatever the principal reasons were for which those prohibitions were then made unto them, as there be divers reasons given thereof by Divines both ancient and modern, certain it is, they now concern not us. The Church, during her nonage and pupilage, though she were heir of all, and had right to all, yet was to be held *under tutors and go-*

§. 16. This Liberty impeached by Judaism. Gal. v. 1. Levit. xi. Gal. iv. 1, 2.

vernors, and to be trained up under the Law of Ceremonies as
Gal. iii. 24, 25. iv. 4. under a schoolmaster, during the appointed time. But *when the fulness of the time* appointed *was come*, her wardship expired, and livery sued out, as it were, by the coming and suffering of Christ in the flesh, the Church was then to enter upon her full royalties, and no more to be burdened with those *beggarly rudiments*[g] * of legal observances. The *hand-*
Col. ii. 14. *writing of Ordinances* was then blotted out, and the muddy
Ephes. ii. 14. partition-wall broken down, and the legal impurity of the creatures scoured off, by the blood of Christ.[h] They have little to do then, but withal much to answer, who, by seeking to bring in Judaism again into the Christian Church, either in whole or in part, do thereby, as much as lieth in them, though perhaps unawares to themselves, yet indeed and in truth, evacuate the Cross of Christ.[i] In that large sheet of the
Acts x. 11, 15. creatures, which reacheth from Heaven to the earth, whatsoever we find, we may freely kill and eat, and use every other way to our comforts without scruple. God having cleansed all, we are not to call or esteem any thing common or unclean: God having created all good, we are to refuse nothing. If any shall oppose, secondly, the seeming Morality of some of these prohibitions, as being given before the Law
Gen. ix. 4. Lev. xvii. 11, 14. Acts xv. 20, 29. of Ceremonies, pressed from moral reasons, and confirmed by Apostolical Constitution since; upon which ground some would impose upon the Christian Church this, as a perpetual yoke, to abstain from blood: or, thirdly, the profanation which some creatures have contracted by being used in the exercise of idolatrous worship, whereby they become *anathema*, and
Joshua vii. 1. 2 Kings xviii. 4. are to be held as execrable things; as Achan's wedge was, and the brazen Serpent which Hezekiah stamped to powder, upon which ground also some others have inferred an utter unlawfulness to use any thing in the Church, which was abused

[g] πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα. Gal. iv. 9.

* '*rudiments*.' The rendering of the Geneva Bible, 1583, is retained in the margin of our Authorized Version, which follows Wycliffe and the Rhemish in exhibiting *elements*: Tyndale has *ceremonies*; and Cranmer, *ordinances*.

[h] ἡ κτίσις τῷ θείῳ ἡγίασται αἵματι. Johan. Damascen, de Fid. Orthod. iv. 4. [tom. i. p. 255 D. ed. Le Quien.]

[i] Gal. v. 2, 4, 11. [The Rhemish Testament has, *then is the scandal of the Cross evacuated*; and in verse 4, *You are evacuated from Christ*: after the Vulgate, *Ergo evacuatum est scandalum Crucis*, and *Evacuati estis a Christo*.]

in Popery, by calling them rags and reliques of idolatry: neither this nor that ought to trouble us. For although neither my aim, which lieth another way, nor the time, will permit me now to give a just and full satisfying answer to the several instances, and their grounds, yet the very words and weight of my Text do give us a clear resolution in the general, and sufficient to rest our consciences and our judgments and practice upon, that, notwithstanding all pretensions of reason to the contrary, yet these things, for so much as they are still good, ought not to be refused. For the Apostle hath here laid a sure foundation, and impregnable, in that he groundeth the use upon the power; and from the goodness of the Creature inferreth the lawfulness of it. *Every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused.* He concludeth, it is therefore not to be refused, because it is good. So that look, whatsoever goodness there is in any creature, that is, whatsoever natural power it hath, which either immediately and of itself is, or may by the improvement of human art and industry be taught to be, of any use unto man, for necessity, nourishment, service, lawful delight or otherwise, the creature, wherein such goodness or power is to be found, may not be refused as upon tye of Conscience; but that power and goodness it hath may lawfully be employed to those uses for which it is meet in regard thereof. Ever provided, we be careful to observe all those requisite conditions which must guide our Consciences, and regulate our practice, in the use of all lawful and indifferent things. They that teach otherwise, lay burdens upon their own consciences which they need not, and upon the consciences of their brethren which they should not; and are injurious to that liberty which the Blessed Son of God hath purchased for His Church, and which the Blessed Spirit of God hath asserted in my Text.

17. Injurious, in the second place, to this branch of our Christian Liberty is the Church of Rome, whom St. Paul in this passage hath branded with an indelible note of infamy: inasmuch as those very doctrines, wherein he giveth instance as in *doctrines of devils*, are the received tenets and conclusions of that Church. Not to insist on other prejudices done to Christian Liberty by the intolerable usurpation of *the Man* 2 Thess. ii. 3. §. 17. and Popery; in the points

of Sin, who exerciseth a spiritual tyranny over men's consciences, as opposite to Evangelical Liberty as Antichrist is to Christ, let us but a little see how she hath fulfilled St. Paul's prediction in teaching lying and devilish doctrines, and that with seared consciences and in hypocrisy, in the two specialties mentioned in the next former verse, viz. forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.

§. 18. of Marriage,

18. Marriage, the holy Ordinance of God, instituted in the place and estate of innocency, honoured by Christ's presence at Cana in Galilee, the seed-plot of the Church, and the sole allowed remedy against incontinency and burning lusts, by the Apostle commended as honourable in all men, and commanded in case of ustion* to all men, is yet by this purple strumpet forbidden, and that *sub mortali*, to Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, Monks, Friars, Nuns, in a word, to the whole Clergy, as they extend that title, both Secular and Regular. Wherein, besides the devilishness of the Doctrine, in contrarying the Ordinance of God, and in denying men subject to sinful lusts the lawful remedy, and so casting them upon a necessity of sinning, see if they do not teach this lie with seared consciences. For with what conscience can they make the same thing a sacrament in the Lay, and sacrilege in the Clergy?[k] With what conscience permit stews, and forbid marriage? With what conscience allege Scriptures for the single life of Priests, and yet confess it to be an ordinance only of Ecclesiastical and not of Divine right?[l] With what conscience confess fornication to be against the Law of God, and Priests' marriage only against the Law of holy Church; and yet make marriage in a Priest a far fouler sin than fornication or incest?[m] With what conscience exact a vow of

Gen. ii. 18. S. John ii. 2. 1 Cor. vii. 2. Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. vii. 9. Rev. xvii. 4.

* 'ustion.' Jer. Taylor has twice used 'ustulation' in the same sense. Ductor Dubit. III. iv. Rule 20. §§. 13, 17.

[k] Bellarmin. de Monach. cap. 34. [... sacrorum ministrorum conjugia, non conjugia legitima, sed sacrilegia conjugii nomine tecta esse ostendimus, et ideo reprehendimus. Opp. tom. ii. 565 A. Ingolst. 1601.]

[l] Aquinas, Sec. Sec. Quaest. 88. art. 11. [Non est autem essentialiter annexum debitum continentiae ordini sacro, sed ex statuto Ecclesiae. Unde videtur quod per Ecclesiam possit dispensari in voto continentiae solennizato per susceptionem sacri ordinis.] Bellarmin. de Cler. cap. 18. [Opp. ii. 346, 7.] Becan. Manual. Controv. i. 13. n. 11. [Nullum enim exstat praeceptum divinum Novi Testamenti, quo vel Apostoli, vel alii Ecclesiae ministri obligentur ad coelibatum. Exstat tamen consilium Christi. S. Matth. xix. 10.]

[m] Coster. Enchiridion Controv. Cap. 17. Prop. 9. [Sacerdos si

continency from Clerks, by those Canons which defend their open incontinency?[n] With what conscience forbid lawful marriages to some, and yet by dispensation allow unlawful marriages to others?

§. 19. and Meats.

19. And is not the like also done in the other particular, concerning meats? The laws of that Church forbidding some orders[o] of men some kinds of meats perpetually, and all men some meats upon certain days, and that not for civil respects, but with opinion of satisfaction, yea merit, yea and supererogation too. In which also, besides the devilishness of the doctrine, in corrupting the profitable and religious exercise of Fasting, and turning it into a superstitious observation of days and meats, judge if they do not teach this lie also, as the former, with seared consciences. For with what conscience can they allow an ordinary Confessor to absolve for murder, adultery, perjury, and such petty crimes, but reserve the great sin of eating flesh upon a Friday or Ember-day to the censure of a Penitentiary, as being a matter beyond the power of an ordinary Priest to grant absolution for? With what conscience make the tasting of the coarsest flesh a breach of the Lent Fast, and surfeiting upon the delicatest fishes and confections none? With what conscience forbid they such and such meats, for the taming of the flesh, when they allow those that are far more nutritive of the flesh, and incentive of fleshly lusts? With what conscience enjoin such abstinence for a penance, and then presently release it again for a penny? Indeed the Gloss upon the Canon,[p] that doth so, hath a right worthy and a right wholesome note. Note, saith the Gloss,[q] that he who giveth a penny to redeem his fast, though he give money for a spiritual thing, yet he doth

fornicetur, aut domi concubinam foveat, tametsi gravi sacrilegio sese obstringat, gravius tamen peccat, si contrahat matrimonium.... Sacerdotes, qui nuptias ineunt.... haeresi vitiatum habent intellectum, quod arbitrentur esse nuptias, quae non sunt nuptiae, sed pejora omnibus adulteriis sacrilegia.]

[n] Can. Si quis, [potius Fraternitatis.] Dist. 34. [Gratian. Decret. pars i.] Caus. xii. Quaest. 1. Can. Dilectissimis. [§. Si qui vero. Decret. pars ii.]

[o] Benedictines and Carthusians.

[p] Dist. 82. Can. Presbyter. [Decret. pars i. Sane sciendum quod secundam feriam unum Psalterium canendo, aut unum denarium pauperibus dando, si opus est, redimere potest.]

[q] Gloss. ibid. [Et ita potest dare denarium pro jejunio, quod spirituale est: nec tamen Simoniam committit, quia cum Deo intelligitur contrahere.]

not commit Simony, because the contract is made with God. If these men had not seared up their consciences, would they not, think you, feel some check at the broaching of such ridiculous and inconsistent stuff as floweth from these two heads of devilish doctrines, of forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats?

§. 20. The extent of this Liberty in eight Positions.

20. I deny not, but the bawds of that strumpet, the Doctors of that Church, have their colourable pretences wherewith to blanch over these errors. Else the lies would be palpable; and they should not otherwise fill up the measure of their apostasy, according to the Apostle's prophecy, in teaching these lies in hypocrisy. But the colours, though never so artificially tempered, and never so handsomely laid on, are yet so thin, that a steady eye, not bleared* with prejudice, may discern the lie through them, for all the hypocrisy. As might easily be shown, if my intended course led me that way, and did not rather direct me to matter of more profitable and universal use. Having therefore done with them, it were good for us, in the third place, that we might know our own freehold with better certainty, and keep ourselves within our due bounds, to enquire a little what is the just extent of our Christian Liberty unto the creatures, and what restraints it may admit. A point very needful to be known for the resolution of many doubts in Conscience, and for the cutting off of many questions and disputes in the Church, which are of very noisome consequence, for want of right information herein. I have other matter also to entreat of; and therefore, since I may not allow this inquiry so large a discourse as it well deserveth, I shall desire you to take into your Christian consideration these positions following.

§. 21. I. It extendeth to all the Creatures. Rom. xiv. 20. 1 Cor. x. 23. iii. 22.

21. The first. Our Christian liberty extendeth to all the creatures of God. This ariseth clearly from what hath been already delivered; and the testimonies of Scripture for it are express. *All things are pure; All things are lawful; All are your's;* elsewhere; and here, *Nothing to be refused.*

§. 22. II. It

22. The second Position. Our Christian liberty equally respecteth the using and the not using of any of God's crea-

* 'bleared.' Compare Hacket, Life of Williams, ii. 125. 'So this Lord looked on the Bishop's cause, not only with a bleared, but with a blood-shotten eye.' And see Sermon v. ad Magistr. §. 29.

tures. There is no creature, but a Christian man, by virtue of his liberty, as he may use it upon just occasion, so he may also upon just cause refuse it. *All things are lawful for me,* saith St. Paul, *but I will not be brought under the power of any thing.** Where he establisheth this liberty in both the parts of it: liberty to use the creatures, or else they had not all been lawful for him; and yet liberty not to use them, or else he had been under the power of some of them. Whence it followeth, that all the creatures of God stand in the nature of things indifferent: that is, such as may indifferently be either used or not used, according as the rules of godly discretion, circumstances duly considered, shall direct.

equally respecteth the use and the forbearance. 1 Cor. vi. 12.

23. The third Position. Our Christian liberty for the using or not using of the creature may, without prejudice, admit of some restraint in the outward practice of it. *Ab illicitis semper: quandoque et a licitis:*† I think it is St. Gregory's. A Christian must never do unlawful, nor yet always, lawful things. St. Paul had liberty to eat flesh; and he used that liberty, and ate flesh: yet he knew there might be some cases wherein to abridge himself of the use of that liberty, so far as not to eat flesh whilst the world standeth. But what those restraints are, and how far they may be admitted without prejudice done to that liberty, that we may the better understand, let us go on to

§. 23. III. It may admit of some restraint in the outward exercise of it: 1 Cor. viii. 13.

24. The fourth Position. Sobriety may and ought to restrain us in the outward practice of our Christian Liberty. For our diet, all fish, and flesh, and fowl, and fruits, and spices, are lawful for us, as well as bread and herbs; but may we therefore with thriftless prodigality and exquisite riot fare deliciously and sumptuously every day, under pretence of Christian Liberty? Likewise for our apparel, all stuffs and colours, the richest silks, and furs, and dyes, are as lawful for us, as cloth, and leather, and sheep's russet.‡ Christian

§. 24. IV. as first, Sobriety;

* '*any thing.*' So in the Geneva Bible, 1583. *under no thing's power,* 1557. *under no man's power,* Tyndale and Cranmer.

† Saepe ii, qui in potestate sunt, dum sese a licitis continere nesciunt, ad illicita opera et inquieta dilabuntur. Solus enim in illicitis non cadit, qui se aliquando et a licitis caute restringit. Moral. V. in cap. iv. B. Job. tom. i. col. 146 B. ed. Bened. Habent quippe sancti viri hoc proprium; nam ut semper ab illicitis longe sint, a se plerumque etiam licita abscindunt. Dialog. iv. 11. tom. ii. col. 388 D.

‡ '*russet,*' any coarse, undyed cloth, generally, according to Nares,

Liberty extendeth as well to one as another. But do we think that Liberty will excuse our pride and vanity and excess, if we ruffle it out in silks and scarlets, or otherwise in stuff, colour, or fashion unsuitably to our years, sex, calling, estate, or condition? In all other things of like nature, in our buildings, in our furniture, in our retinues, in our disports, in our recreations, in our society, in our marriages, in other things, we ought as well to consider what in Christian sobriety is meet for us to do, as what in Christian Liberty may be done. Scarce is there any one thing wherein the Devil putteth slurs* upon us more frequently, yea and more dangerously too, because unsuspected, than in this very thing, in making us take the uttermost of our freedom in the use of indifferent things. It therefore concerneth us so much the more, to keep a sober watch over ourselves and souls, in the use of God's good creatures, lest, otherwise, under the fair title and habit of Christian Liberty, we yield ourselves over to a carnal licentiousness.

§. 25. V. Secondly, Charity: in ourselves,

25. The fifth Position. As Sobriety, so Charity also may and ought to restrain us in the outward exercise of our Christian Liberty. Charity, I say, both to ourselves and others. First, to ourselves; for regular charity beginneth there. If we are to cut off our right hand, and to pluck out the right eye, and to cast them both from us when they offend us, much more then ought we to deny ourselves the use of such outward lawful things, as by experience we have found, or have otherwise cause to suspect to be, hurtful either to our bodies or souls. So a man may and should refrain from meats which may endanger his bodily health. But how much more then from every thing that may endanger the health of his soul. If thou findest thyself inflamed with lust by dancing, if enraged with choler by game, if tempted to covet-

S. Matthew v. 29, 30.

of a dingy-brown colour, whence the name 'russetin' given to some apples. 'Russetum, pannus vilior rusei seu rufei coloris, quem Galli *Roux*, Angli *Russet* dicunt.' Du Cange. Compare with 'sheep's russet,' Fabyan's Chronicle, Part vii. p. 687. ed. Ellis. 'About this tyme [1501] the Gray Fryers were compelled to take theyr old habit russet, as the shepe doth dye it.'

* 'slurs,' *deceptions*. The verb 'to slur' is explained by Nares and by Grose as a term among the old gamblers for *cheating*, by slipping a die out of the box so as not to let it turn. Compare Hudibras, II. ii. 190. 'What was the Public Faith found out for, But to slur men of what they fought for?'

ousness, pride, uncleanness, superstition, cruelty, any sin, by reason of any of the creatures, it is better for thee to make a covenant with thine eyes, and ears, and hands, and senses, so far as thy condition and calling will warrant thee, not to have any thing to do with such things, than, by gratifying them therein, cast both thyself and them into hell. Better, by our voluntary abstinence, to depart with* some of our liberty unto the creatures, than, by our voluntary transgression, forfeit all, and become the Devil's captives.

§. 26. and others.

26. But Charity, though it begin at home, yet it will abroad; and, not resting at ourselves, reacheth to our brethren also, of whom we are to have a due regard in our use of the creatures. An argument wherein St. Paul often enlargeth himself, as in Romans xiv, and 1 Cor. viii, the whole chapters throughout, and in a great part of 1 Cor. x. The resolution every where is, that *all things be done to edification;* that things lawful become inexpedient, when they offend rather than edify; that though *all things indeed are pure, yet it is evil for that man which* useth them *with offence;* that albeit flesh and wine and other things be lawful, yet *it is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do any thing whereby* a man's *brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.* Hitherto appertaineth that great and difficult common-place of scandal, so much debated and disputed of by Divines. The questions and cases are manifold, not now to be rehearsed, much less resolved, in particular. But the position is plain in the general, that, in case of scandal, for our weak brother's sake, we may and sometimes ought to abridge ourselves of some part of our lawful Liberty.

1 Cor. xiv. 26. x. 23. Rom. xiv. 20. Ibid. 21.

§. 27. Thirdly, Duty, in obedience to Governours oeconomical,

27. Besides these two, Sobriety and Charity, there is yet one restraint more, which ariseth from the duty we owe to our Superiours, and from the bond of Civil obedience, which if it had been by all men as freely admitted as there is just cause it should, how happy had it been for the peace of this Church!

* 'depart with,' *part with, give up.* Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Double Marriage, iv. 1. 'Now whether willingly I have departed With that I loved.' This verb was also used in the sense of severing, separating: e. g. in the plighting of the troth, 'till death us depart,' stood in all the recensions of the Office of Matrimony, as in the Sarum Manual, f°. xxxviii. b. Lond. 1555, till the last Review, when in compliance with the objection of the Presbyterian Divines, the present form was substituted.

Concerning it, let this be our Sixth Position. The determination of Superiours may and ought to refrain us in the outward exercise of our Christian Liberty. We must *submit* ourselves *to every Ordinance of man*, saith St. Peter, and it is necessary we should do so; *for so is the will of God*. Neither is it against Christian Liberty if we do so, for we are still as free as before: rather, if we do not so, we abuse our *liberty for a cloke of maliciousness*, as it followeth there. And St. Paul telleth us we *must needs be subject, not only for fear*, because the Magistrate *carrieth not the sword in vain, but also for Conscience sake*, because *the powers that are, are ordained of God*. This duty, so fully pressed and so uniformly by these two grand Apostles, is most apparent in private societies. In a family, the master, or *Pater familias*, who is a kind of petty monarch there, hath authority to prescribe to his children and servants in the use of those indifferent things, whereto yet they, as Christians, have as much liberty as he. The servant, though he be *the Lord's free man*, yet is limited in his diet, lodging, livery, and many other things by his master. And he is to submit himself to his master's appointment in these things, though perhaps in his private affection he had rather his master had appointed otherwise; and perhaps withal, in his private judgment, doth verily think it fitter his master should appoint otherwise. If any man under colour of Christian Liberty shall teach otherwise, and exempt servants from the obedience of their masters in such things, St. Paul in a holy indignation inveigheth against such a man, not without some bitterness, in the last chapter of this Epistle, as one that *is proud, and knoweth nothing*, as he should do, *but doateth about questions and strife* of words*, &c. verses 3, 5.

1 Pet. ii. 13, 15, 16.

Rom. xiii. 5.

Verse 4.

Verse 1.

1 Cor. vii. 22.

1 Tim. vi. 3, 5.

§. 28. Civil,

28. Now look, what power the master hath over his servants for the ordering of his family, no doubt the same at the least, if not much more, hath the supreme Magistrate over his subjects, for the peaceable ordering of the Commonwealth, the Magistrate being *Pater Patriae*, as the master is *Pater familias*. Whosoever then shall interpret the determinations of Magistrates in the use of the creatures to be contrary to the Liberty of a Christian, or under that colour shall exempt inferiours from their obedience to such determinations, he must

* So, in the singular, previously to 1611.

blame St. Paul, nay, he must blame the Holy Ghost, and not us, if he hear from us that he is *proud, and knoweth nothing, and doateth about* unprofitable *questions.* Surely, but that experience showeth us it hath been so, and the Scriptures have foretold us that it should be so, that there should be differences, and sidings, and part-takings * in the Church, a man would wonder how it should ever sink into the hearts and heads of sober understanding men, to deny either the power in Superiours to ordain, or the necessity in Inferiours to obey laws and constitutions, so restraining us in the use of the creatures. 1 Cor. xi. 19.

29. Neither let any man cherish his ignorance herein, by conceiting as if there were some difference to be made between Civil and Ecclesiastical things, and Laws, and Persons in this behalf. The truth is, our Liberty is equal in both, the power of Superiors for restraint equal in both, and the necessity of obedience in Inferiors equal in both. No man hath yet been able to show, nor I think ever shall be, a real and substantial difference indeed between them to make an inequality. But that still, as civil Magistrates have sometimes, for just politic respects, prohibited some trades and manufactures and commodities, and enjoined other-some, and done well in both, so Church-Governors may, upon good considerations, say it be but for order and uniformity's sake, prescribe the times, places, vestments, gestures, and other Ceremonial Circumstances to be used in Ecclesiastical Offices and assemblies. As the Apostles, in the first council holden at Jerusalem, laid upon the Churches of the Gentiles, for a time,† a restraint from the eating of blood, and things sacrificed to Idols, and strangled. §. 29. and Ecclesiastical. Acts xv. 28, 29.

30. Thus we see our Christian Liberty unto the creatures may, without prejudice, admit of some restraints in the outward exercise of it; and, namely,‡ from the three respects, of Christian Sobriety, of Christian Charity, and of Christian Duty and Obedience. But now, in the comparing of these together, when there seemeth to be a repugnancy between one and another of them, there may be some difficulty; and the greatest difficulty, and which hath bred most trouble, is in comparing the cases of scandal and disobedience together, when there §. 30. 7°. With the comparison of these three Restraints.

* 'sidings and part-takings.' Compare Sermon viii. ad Aulam, §. 8, and Sermon xiv. ad Aulam, §. 32.

† See above, §. 16.

‡ 'namely,' *especially.* Compare Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 27.

seemeth to be a repugnancy between Charity and Duty. As for example. Suppose, in a thing which, simply and in itself, we may lawfully, according to the Liberty we have in Christ, either use or forbear, Charity seemeth to lay restraint upon us one way, our weak brother expecting we should forbear, and Duty a quite contrary way, Authority requiring the use, in such a case what are we to do? It is against Charity to offend a brother, and it is against Duty to disobey a superior. And yet something must be done: either we must use, or not use; forbear, or not forbear. For the untying of this knot, which, if we will but lay things rightly together, hath not in it so much hardness as it seemeth to have, let this be our seventh Position. In the use of the creatures and all indifferent things, we ought to bear a greater regard to our public Governors than to our private brethren, and be more careful to obey them than to satisfy these, if the same course will not in some mediocrity satisfy both. Alas, that our brethren, who are contrary minded, would but with the spirit of sobriety admit common reason to be umpire in this case. Alas, that they would but consider what a world of contradictions would follow upon the contrary opinion, and what a world of confusions upon the contrary practice. Say what can be said in the behalf of a brother: all the same, and more, may be said for a Governor. For a Governor is a brother too, and something more; and duty is charity too, and something more. If then I may not offend my brother, then certainly not my Governor, because he is my brother too, being a man and a Christian, as well as the other is. And the same Charity that bindeth me to satisfy another brother, equally bindeth me to satisfy this. So that, if we go no further but even to the common bond of Charity and relation of Brotherhood, that maketh them equal at the least; and therefore no reason, why I should satisfy one that is but a private brother, rather than the public Magistrate, who, that public respect set aside, is my brother also. When the scales hang thus even, shall not the accession of Magistracy to common brotherhood in him,[r] and of Duty to common Charity in me, be enough to

[r] Quod si tantopere cavenda sunt scandala parvulorum, quanto amplius Praelatorum? Bernard. de Praecept. et Disp. [cap. 9. §. 21. tom. i. 509 A. ed. Ben.]

cast it clear for the Magistrate? Shall a servant in a family, rather than offend his fellow-servant, disobey his master? And is not a double scandal against Charity and Duty both, for Duty implieth Charity, greater than a single scandal against Charity alone? If private men will be offended at our obedience to public Governors, we can but be sorry for it. We may not redeem their offence* by our disobedience.[s] He that taketh offence where none is given, sustaineth a double person, and must answer for it, both as the giver and the taker. If offence be taken at us, there is no woe to us for it, if it do not come by us: *Woe to the man by whom the offence cometh.* And it doth not come by us, if we do but what is our duty to do. The rule is certain and equitable: the respect of private scandal ceaseth where lawful authority determineth our liberty; and that restraint which proceedeth from special Duty, is of superior reason to that which proceedeth but from common Charity.

S. Matthew xviii. 7.

§. 31. VIII. The inward freedom of the Conscience

31. Three Moderators then of our Christian Liberty to the creatures we are to allow of, Sobriety, Charity, and Duty, unto every of which a just regard ought to be had. Neither need we fear, if we suffer Sobriety on one side, and Charity on another, and Duty on a third, thus to abridge us in the use of our Christian Liberty, that, by little and little, it may be at length so pared away among them, that there may be little or nothing left of it. To remove this suspicion, let this be our Eighth and last Position. No respect whatsoever can or ought to diminish the inward freedom of the Conscience to any of the creatures. And this inward freedom is it, wherein especially consisteth our Christian Liberty to the creature. This freedom we are all bound to maintain to the utmost of our powers, and not to suffer ourselves to be made *the servants of men*, otherwise than in serving one another by love, but to *stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ hath set us free.* Now this liberty consisteth in a certain resolution of judgment, and a

1 Cor. vii. 23. Gal. v. 13. Verse 1.

* 'redeem their offence.' Compare Sermon xii. ad Aulam, §. 38. 'we may not redeem a scandal by such our disobedience.'

[s] Prudenter advertat qui hoc cogitat, scandalum scandalo non bene emendari. Qualis denique emendatio erit, si ut aliis scandalum tollas, alios scandalizas? Bernard. de Praecept. et Disp. [ibid. 520 A. This passage from S. Bernard is quoted in Sermon xii. ad Aulam, §. 40.]

certain persuasion of Conscience arising thence, that all the creatures of God are in themselves lawful, and free for us either to use or refuse, as we shall see it expedient for us; and that neither the use nor the forbearance of them doth of itself either commend or discommend us unto God, or any way either please Him as a part of His worship, or offend Him as a transgression of His Law. *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink*, saith St. Paul: *neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither the worse, if we do not eat;* nor on the contrary. Now here is the wickedness and the usurpation of the High Priest of Rome, that he challengeth to himself a spiritual power over the consciences of men, which is the greatest tyranny that ever was or can be exercised in the world: laying impurity upon the things he forbiddeth, and annexing operative holiness, and power, both satisfactory and meritorious, to the things he enjoineth. Which usurpation whosoever hateth not in him with a perfect hatred, is justly unworthy of, and shamefully unthankful for, that liberty and freedom which the Blessed Son of God hath purchased for His Church.

Rom. xiv. 17. 1 Cor. viii. 8.

§. 32. may stand with some restraints in the outward exercise.

32. But this inward freedom once established in our hearts, and our consciences fully persuaded thereof, let us thenceforth make no scruple to admit of such just restraints in the outward exercise of it, as Christian Sobriety, Charity, and Duty shall require. For we must know, that the Liberty of a Christian is not in eating, and wearing, and doing, what and when, and where and how he list; but in being assured that it is all one before God, in the things themselves barely considered, whether he eat or not eat, wear or not wear, do or not do, this or that; and that therefore, as he may upon just cause eat, and wear, and do, so he may upon just cause also refuse to eat, or wear, or do this thing or that. Indeed otherwise, if we well consider it, it were but the empty name of liberty, without the thing; for how is it liberty, if a man be determinately bound the one way, and tied *ad alteram partem contradictionis* precisely, and not left indifferent and equal to either? If then the regards of Sobriety, Charity, or Duty, do not require a forbearance, thou knowest *every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused:* thou hast thy liberty therefore, and mayest according to that liberty freely use that creature. But if any of those former respects require thou shouldest forbear, thou knowest

that the creature still is good, and as not to be refused, so not to be imposed: thou hast thy liberty therefore here, as before, and oughtest according to that liberty freely to abstain from that creature. Both in using and refusing the Conscience is still free; and as well the use as the refusal, and as well the refusal as the use, do equally and alike belong to the true liberty of a Christian.

§. 33. Observation III. The creature to be received with Thanksgiving:

33. We have seen now what liberty God hath allowed us; and therein we may see also His great goodness and bounty towards us, in making such a world of creatures, and all of them good: *every creature of God is good;* and not envying us the free use of any of those good creatures: *nothing to be refused.* But where is our Duty, answerable to this bounty? Where is our thankfulness, proportionable to such receipts? Let us not rejoice too much in the creature's goodness, nor glory too much in our freedom thereunto. Unless there be in us, withal, a due care and conscience to perform the condition which God requireth in lieu thereof, neither can their goodness do us good, nor our freedom exempt us from evil. And that condition is, the Duty of thanksgiving, expressed in the last clause of the verse, *if it be received with thanksgiving.* Forget this proviso, and we undo all again that we have hitherto done, and destroy all that we have already established concerning both the goodness of the creature, and our liberty in the use thereof; for without thanksgiving, neither can we partake their goodness, nor use our own liberty, with comfort. Of this therefore in the next place: wherein, the weight of the duty considered, together with our backwardness thereunto, if I shall spend the remainder of my time and meditations, I hope my labour, by the blessing of God and your prayers, shall not be unprofitable; and my purpose therein shall find, if not allowance in your judgments, at least in your charity excuse. To speak of which Duty of thanksgiving in the full extent, and by way of common place, were to enter into a spacious field, indeed a very sea of matter without bottom. For mine own ease therefore and yours, I shall confine myself to that branch of it which is most immediately pertinent to my Text, viz. that tribute of thanks which we owe unto God for the free use of His good creatures, forbearing to meddle with the other branches thereof, otherwise than as

they fall within the reach of this, by way either of proportion or inference.

§. 34. and what is meant thereby.

34. And, first, we are to know, that by *thanksgiving* in my Text is not meant only that subsequent act, whereby we render unto God praise and thanks for the creature, after we have received it, and enjoyed the benefit of it, which yet is most properly thanksgiving; but we are to extend the word further, even to those precedent acts of prayer and benediction, whereby we beseech God to give His blessing to the creature, and to sanctify the use of it to us. For what in this verse is called thanksgiving, is in the next verse comprehended under the

1 Tim. iv. 5. name of prayer. And we shall accordingly find in the Scriptures elsewhere the words *εὐλογία* and *εὐχαριστία*, the one whereof signifieth properly blessing, the other thanksgiving, used oftentimes promiscuously the one for the other. The blessing which our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ used at the

S. Luke xxii. 17, 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24. consecration of the sacramental bread, St. Luke and St. Paul express by the word *εὐχαριστήσας*: St. Matthew and St. Mark,

S. Matthew xxvi. 27. S. Mark xiv. 22, 23. by *εὐλογήσας*. And the prayer of blessing, used before the eating of common bread, is by every of the four Evangelists

S. Matt. xv. 36. S. Mark viii. 6. S. John vi. 11. Acts xxvii. 35. in some places described by the word *εὐχαριστεῖν*, and by three of them in other some places by *εὐλογεῖν*. And the name *εὐλογία*[t] is sometimes found in the writings of the Ancients for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the more usual

S. Matthew xiv. 19. S. Mark vi. 41. S. Luke ix. 16. name whereof is *εὐχαριστία*, or the holy Eucharist. And we, in our ordinary manner of speech, call as well the blessing before meat, as the thanksgiving after, by the common name of Grace, or saying of Grace. Both these then together, Grace before meat, and Grace after meat, a sacrifice of prayer before we use any of the good creatures of God, and a sacrifice of praise after we have used them, the blessing wherewith we bless the creature in the Name of God, and the blessing wherewith we bless the Name of God for the creature, both these, I say, to-

[t] See Casaubon, Exercit. xvi. in Baron. sect. 33. [Porro nomen *εὐλογία*, aliquando simpliciter pro Eucharistia acceperunt: ut apud Cyrillum in epistola ad Calosyrium, [vi. 365 B. ed. Aubert.] *ἀκούω ὅτι ἀπρακτεῖν φασὶν εἰς ἁγιασμὸν τὴν μυστικὴν εὐλογίαν.* Idem in Johann. lib. xii. c. 39. aliquoties conjungit *τὴν μυστικὴν εὐλογίαν* et *τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα.* Sic *εὐλογίαν γάμου* cum dicunt, totum ordinem intelligunt consecrandi nuptias, cujus pars erat sacramentum Eucharistiae, sicut hodieque est in multis locis, et in Ecclesia etiam Anglicana.]

gether, is the just extent of that Thanksgiving, whereof my Text speaketh, and we are now to entreat.

§. 35. For Meats and Drinks,

35. Concerning meats and drinks, unto which our Apostle hath special reference in this whole passage, this duty of thanksgiving hath been ever held so congruous to the partaking thereof, that long and ancient custom hath established it in the common practice of Christians, not only with inward thankfulness of heart to recount and acknowledge God's goodness to them therein, but also outwardly to express the same in a vocal solemn form of blessing or thanksgiving, that which we call Grace, or saying of Grace. Which very phrases, whether or no they have ground, as to me it seemeth they have, from those words of our Apostle, *For if I by grace be a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?* I say, howsoever it be with the phrase, sure we are the thing itself hath sufficient ground from the examples of Christ and of His holy Apostles. From whom the custom of giving thanks at meals seemeth to have been derived, throughout all succeeding ages, even to us. Of Christ Himself we read often, and in every of the Evangelists, that He blessed and gave thanks in the name of Himself and the people before meat, in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of St. Matthew, in the sixth and eighth chapters of St. Mark, in the ninth chapter of St. Luke, and in the sixth chapter of St. John. And in St. Matthew xxvi. that after meat also, when Supper was ended, He and His Disciples *sang an hymn*,[u] before they departed the room. And St. Luke relateth of St. Paul, when he and his company in the ship, who were well toward three hundred persons, were to refresh themselves with food after a long fast, that he took bread, and first *gave thanks to God in the presence of them all*, and then, after, *brake it, and began to eat:* yea, St. Paul himself so speaketh of it, Romans xiv, as of the known practice of the Church among Christians of all sorts, weak and strong. He that was *strong in the faith*, and knew the liberty he had in Christ to eat indifferently of all kinds of meats, flesh as well as herbs, did eat of all indifferently, and gave God thanks for all. The weak Christian too, who made scruple of some kinds of flesh or other meats, and

1 Cor. x. 30.

S. Matthew xiv. 19; xv. 36. S. Mark vi. 41; viii. 6. S. Luke ix. 16. S. John vi. 11.

Acts xxvii. 35.

[u] ὑμνήσαντες. S. Matt. xxvi. 30.

contented himself with herbs and such like things, yet gave God thanks for his herbs, and for whatsoever else he durst eat. *He that eateth, eateth to the Lord,* saith he there, at verse 6, *for he giveth God thanks: and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks* too. Notwithstanding they differed in their judgments and opinions, and consequently in their practice, concerning the lawful or unlawful use of some meats, yet they consented most sweetly, and agreed both in their judgment and practice, in the performance of this religious service of thanksgiving.

Rom. xiv. 6.

§. 36. and other Creatures, the Thanksgiving of the mouth expedient,

36. So then giving of thanks for our meats and drinks, before and after meals, in an outward and audible form, is an ancient, a commendable, an Apostolical, a Christian practice, ordinarily requisite as an outward testimony of the inward thankfulness of the heart, and therefore not to be omitted ordinarily, neither but in some few cases. There being the like necessity of this duty, in regard of inward thankfulness, as there is of vocal prayer, in regard of inward devotion, and of outward confession, in regard of inward belief; and look,* what exceptions those other outward duties may admit, the very same, *mutandis mutatis,* and in their proportion, are to be admitted here. But not only meats and drinks, but every other good creature also of God whereof we may have use, ought to be received with a due measure of thankfulness. And if in these things also, so often as in good discretion it may seem expedient for the advancing of God's glory, the benefiting of His Church, or the quickening of our own devotion, we shall make some outward and sensible expression of the thankfulness of our hearts for them, we shall therein do an acceptable service unto God, and comfortable to our own souls. For, for this cause God instituted of old among His own people divers solemn feasts and sacrifices, together with the sanctifying of the firstfruits and of the firstborn, and divers other ordinances of that nature: as, on the other side, to be fit remembrancers unto them of their duty of thankfulness, so to be as well good testimonies and fit expressions of their performance of that duty.

§. 37. but of the

37. But if not always the outward manifestation thereof,

* 'look.' See above, §. 8.

yet God ever expecteth at least the true and inward thankfulness of the heart, for the use of His good creatures. *Whatsoever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto God and the Father by Him. Be careful for nothing: but in every thing, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God. Bless the Lord, O my soul,* saith David, *and all that is within me, praise His Holy Name. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits. Forget not all His benefits:* as much as to say, by an ordinary Hebraism, forget not any of all His benefits. He summoneth all that is in him, to bless God for all he hath from Him. He thought it was necessary for him, not to receive any of the good creatures of God without thanksgiving. Which necessity of thanksgiving will yet more appear, if we consider it either as an act of Justice or as an act of Religion: as it is indeed and truly both.

heart necessary; Col. iii. 17. Phil. iv. 6. Ps. ciii. 1, 2.

38. It is, first, an act of Justice. The very Law of Nature, which containeth the first seeds and principles of Justice, bindeth every man that receiveth a benefit, to a thankful acknowledgment of it first, and then withal, ability and opportunity supposed, to some kind of retribution. The best Philosophers therefore make gratitude a branch of the Law of Nature,[x] and so account of it as of a thing, than which there is not any office of virtue more necessary:[y] as nor any thing, on the contrary, more detestable than ingratitude. You cannot lay a fouler imputation upon a man,[z] nor by any accusations in the world render him more odious to the opinions of all men, than by charging him with unthankfulness. *Ingratum dicas, omnia dixeris:** do but say, he is an unthankful wretch, you need say no more, you can say no worse, by any mortal creature. Verily, every benefit carrieth with it the force of an obligation; and we all confess it. If we receive

§. 38. as an act, 1°. of Justice;

[x] Cicero de Invent. ii. [22, 66. 53, 161.]

[y] Quid tam contra officium, quam non reddere quod acceperis? Ambrosius, de Offic. Ministr. i. 31. [tom. ii. col. 42 C. ed. Bened.] Nullum officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est. Cicero, de Offic. i. [47.]

[z] Erunt homicidae, tyranni, fures, adulteri, raptores, sacrilegi, proditores: infra ista omnia ingratus est. Seneca de Benef. i. 10.

* *Dixeris maledicta cuncta, quum ingratum hominem dixeris,* among the Sententiae of P. Syrus as edited by Erasmus, and subjoined to the Distichs of Dionysius Cato.

but some small kindness from another, we can readily and complementally * protest ourselves much bound to him for it. Indeed when we say so, we often speak it but of course, and think it not; but yet, when we do so, we speak more truth than we are aware of. For, if it be in truth a kindness in him, we are in truth and equity bound to him thereby. The common saying is not without ground, *Qui beneficium accepit, libertatem vendidit.* † Some men therefore refuse kindnesses and courtesies at other men's hands, because, forsooth, they will not be beholden to them. Which though it be a perverse and unjust course, and indeed a high degree of unthankfulness, for there is unthankfulness, as well in not accepting a kind offer, as in not requiting a good turn,[a] and therefore also a high degree of folly; for is it not a foolish thing for a man, out of the bare fear of unthankfulness one way, to become wilfully unthankful another? though, I say, it be a fond and perverse course in them, yet it argueth withal in them a strong apprehension of the equity of that principle of Nature and Justice, which bindeth men that receive benefits *ad ἀντίδωρα*, to a necessity of requital and retribution. Truth it is, to God, our heavenly Father, first, and then to our earthly Parents, none of us can *reddere paria:* none is able to make a full requital to either of them, especially not to God. But that freeth us not from the debt of thankfulness, as not to our Parents, so neither to God: it rather bindeth us the faster thereunto. The same Law of Nature, which teacheth us to requite a good turn to the uttermost, where there is wherewithal to do it, and withal a fair opportunity offered, teacheth us, where there wanteth either ability or opportunity, to endeavour by the best convenient means we can to testify at least the thankfulness of our hearts, and our unfeigned desires of requital. Which desire and endeavour,[b] if every ingenuous man and our earthly Parents do accept of, where they find it, as of the

Ecclus. vii. 28.

* 'complementally.' See below, Sermon vii. §. 59.

† Beneficium accipere libertatem est vendere. Publ. Syrus. Sent. 39.

[a] Non is solum gratus debet esse qui accepit beneficium, verum etiam is, cui potestas accipiendi fuit. Cicero, de Provinc. Consul. [41.] Tam teneor dono, quam si demittar onustus. Horat. Epist. I. vii. [18.]

[b] In beneficio referendo, plus animus, quam census operatur; magisque praeponderat benevolentia, quam possibilitas referendi muneris. Ambros. de Offic. Ministr. i. 32. [tom. ii. col. 44 B. ed. Bened.]

deed itself, can we doubt of God's acceptation of our unfeigned desire herein,[c] though infinitely and without all proportion short of a just requital and retribution? David knew right well, that when a man hath done all he can, he is but an unprofitable servant, and *cannot be profitable unto God, as he that is wise may be profitable to himself* and his neighbours; and that his goodness,[d] though it might be pleasurable to the saints that are on the earth, yet it could not *extend unto the Lord.** All this he knew; and yet, knowing withal that God accepteth the will for the deed, and the desire for the performance, he doubted not to raise up his language to that key, in Psalm cxvi. *Quid retribuam?* What requital shall I make? *What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits towards me? I will take the cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord.* This thankful heart he knew God valued as a sacrifice, nay, preferred before sacrifices. For, having rejected them at verse 8,—*I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices, &c,*[e]—he exacteth this at verse 14 of Psalm l, *Offer unto God thanksgiving, &c.* God respecteth not so much the calves out of our stalls, or the fruits from off our grounds, as these *vitulos labiorum*, these *calves of our lips*, as the Prophet, and these *fructus labiorum*, these *fruits of our lips*, as the Apostle calleth them. *Let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His Name.* More than this in His Mercy He will not desire, less than this in all reason we cannot give. Thankfulness is an act of Justice: we are unjust, if we receive His good creatures, and not return Him thanks for them.

S. Luke xvii. 10. Job xxii. 2. Ps. xvi. 2, 3. Ps. cxvi. 12, 13. Ps. l. 8, 14. Hosea xiv. 2. Heb. xiii. 15.

§. 39. 2°. of Religion: a double sanctification of the Creature.

39. It is not only an act of Justice: it is an act of Religion too, and a branch of that service whereby we do God worship and honour. *Whoso offereth praise, he honoureth me.* Now look, what honour we give unto God, it all redoundeth to ourselves at the last with plentiful advantage: *Them that honour*

Ps. l. 23. 1 Sam. ii. 30.

[c] Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas: Hac ego contentos auguror esse Deos. Ovid. ex Ponto, [iii. 4. 79.]

[d] Nulla ex nobis utilitas Deo speranda est. Seneca, de Benef. iv. 3. Nec ille collato eget, nec nos ei quidquam conferre possumus. ibid. 9.

* Compare below, §. 49.

[e] πλέον τῶν θυσιῶν τέρπονται οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστος ὕμνοις. Xenophon, 1. Ἀπομν. [There is some mistake in this reference.]

me I will honour. Here then is the fruit of this religious act of thanksgiving, that it sanctifieth unto us the use of the good creatures of God, which is the very reason St. Paul giveth of this present speech in the next verse. *Every creature of God is good,* saith he here, *and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving; for,* saith he there, *it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.* Understand not by the word of God there, His written Word or the Scriptures, as some yet give the sense, not without violence to the words, though the thing they say be true; but, more both naturally to the construction of the words, and pertinently to the drift and scope of our Apostle therein, understand rather the word of His eternal Counsel and Decree, and of His Power and Providence, whereby He ordereth and commandeth His creatures in their several kinds, to afford us such service and comforts as He hath thought good. Which sanctifying of the creatures by the word of God's Decree and Providence, implieth two things: the one, respecting the creatures, that they do their kindly office to us: the other, respecting us, that we reap holy comfort from them. For the plainer understanding of both which, instance shall be given in the creatures appointed for our nourishment; and what shall be said of them, we may conceive of, and apply unto, every other creature in the proper kind thereof.

§. 40. The first way.

40. First, then, the creatures appointed for food are sanctified by the word of God, when, together with the creatures, He giveth His blessing to go along with it, by His powerful word commanding it, and by that command enabling it, to feed us. Which is the true meaning of that speech alleged by our Saviour against the Tempter, *Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* Alas! what is bread to nourish us without His word? Unless He say the word, and command the bread to do it, there is no more sap or strength in bread than in stones. The power and nutritive virtue which the bread hath, it hath from His decree, because the word is already gone out of His mouth, that *bread* should *strengthen man's heart.* As in the first Creation, when the creatures were produced *in actu primo,* had their beings given them, and natural powers and faculties bestowed on them, all that was done by the word of God's powerful decree,

Deut. viii. 3. S. Matthew iv. 4.

Ps. civ. 15.

He spake the word, and they were made; He commanded, Ps. xxxiii. 9.
and they were created, so in all their operations *in actu secundo,* when they do at any time exercise those natural faculties, and do those offices for which they were created, all this is still done by the same powerful word and decree of God: *He upholdeth all things by the word of His power.* As Heb. i. 3.
we read of bread, so we often read in the Scriptures of *the* Lev. xxvi.
staff of bread:[e] God sometimes threateneth He will break the 26. Ezek. iv. 16.
staff of bread. What is that? Bread indeed is the staff of our strength: it is the very stay and prop of our lives: if God break this staff, and deny us bread, we are gone. But that is not all, bread is our staff; but what is the staff of bread? Verily, the word of God, blessing our bread and commanding it to feed us, is the staff of this staff, sustaining that virtue in the bread whereby it sustaineth us. If God break this staff of bread, if He withdraw His blessing from the bread, if by His countermand He inhibit or restrain the virtue of the bread, we are as far to seek with bread as without it. If sanctified with God's word of blessing, a little pulse and water, hard and Dan. i. 12,
homely fare, shall feed Daniel as fresh, and fat, and fair, as the 15.
King's dainties shall his companions: a cake and a cruse of 1 Kings
water shall suffice Elijah nourishment enough to walk *in the* xix. 6, 8.
strength thereof forty days and nights: a few barley loaves S. John vi.
and small fishes shall multiply to the satisfying of many thou- 9, 12.
sands, eat while they will. But if God's Word and Blessing be wanting, the lean kine may eat up the fat, and be as thin and Gen. xli.
hollow and ill-looking as before; and we may, as the Prophet 20, 21.
Haggai speaketh, *eat much and not have enough, drink* our Hagg. i. 6.
fills *and not be filled.*

41. This first degree of the creatures' sanctification by the §. 41. the second way.
word of God is a common and ordinary blessing upon the
creatures, whereof, as of the light and dew of Heaven, the S. Matthew
wicked partake as well as the godly, and the thankless as the v. 45.
thankful. But there is a second degree also, beyond this, which is proper and peculiar to the godly. And that is, when God, not only by the word of His Power bestoweth a blessing upon the creature, but also causeth the echo of that word to sound in our hearts by the voice of His Holy Spirit, and giveth

[e] Ps. cv. 16. *Firmamentum panis.* Vulg.

us a sensible taste of His goodness to us therein, filling our
Acts xiv. 17. hearts not only with that joy and gladness which ariseth from the experience of the effect, viz. the refreshing of our natural strength, but also joy and gladness more spiritual and sublime than that arising from the contemplation of the prime cause, viz. the favour of God towards us in the face of His Son, that
Ps. iv. 6. which David calleth the light of His countenance. For as it is the kind welcome at a friend's table that maketh the cheer good, rather than the quaintness or variety of the dishes,

Super omnia vultus
Accessere boni;[f]

Prov. xv. 17. so as that a dinner of green herbs with love and kindness is better entertainment than a stalled ox with bad looks, so the light of God's favourable countenance, shining upon us through these things, is it, which putteth more true gladness into our
Ps. iv. 6, 7. hearts, than doth the corn, and the wine, and the oil themselves, or any other outward thing that we do or can partake. Now this sanctified and holy and comfortable use of the creatures ariseth also from the word of God's decree, even as the former degree did, but not from the same decree. That former issued from the decree of common Providence, and so belonged unto all, as that Providence is common to all. But this later degree proceedeth from that special word of God's
1 Cor. xv. 45. decree, whereby, for the merits of Christ Jesus, *the second Adam*, He removeth from the creature that curse wherein it
Gen. iii. 17. was wrapped through the sin of the first Adam. And in this the wicked have no portion, as being out of Christ, so as they cannot partake of God's creatures with any solid or sound comfort; and so the creatures remain, in this degree, unsanctified unto them. For this reason the Scriptures style the
Heb. xii. 23. faithful *primogenitos, the first born*, as to whom belongeth a
Deut. xxi. 17. double portion; and *haeredes mundi*, 'heirs of the world;'[g] as if none but they had any good right thereunto. And St. Paul deriveth our title to the creatures, from God, but by Christ:
1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. *All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's:* as if these things were none of theirs who are none of Christ's. And in the verse before my Text, he saith of meats,

[f] Ovid. Metam. viii. [677.]

[g] Rom. iv. 13. [For the promise, that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the Law, but through the righteousness of Faith.]

that God hath created them *to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe, and know the truth:* as if those that wanted faith and saving knowledge did but usurp the bread they eat. And indeed it is certain the wicked have not right to the creatures of God, in such ample sort as the godly have. A kind of right they have, and we may not deny it them, given them by God's unchangeable ordinance at the Creation, which, being a branch of that part of God's image in man which was of natural and not of supernatural grace, might be, and was foully defaced by sin; but was not, neither could be wholly lost, as hath been already in part declared.[h] A right then they have; but such a right, as, reaching barely to the use, cannot afford unto the user true comfort, or sound peace of conscience, in such use of the creatures. For, though nothing be in and of itself unclean, for *every creature of God is good*, yet to them that are unclean, *ex accidenti*, every creature is unclean and polluted, because it is not thus sanctified unto them by the word of God. And the very true cause of all this is the impurity of their hearts by reason of unbelief. The Holy Ghost expressly assigneth this cause. *To the pure all things are pure: but to them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure: but even their mind and conscience is defiled.* As a nasty vessel soureth all that is put into it,[i] so a conscience not purified by faith[j] casteth pollution upon the best of God's creatures. Tit. i. 15.

42. But what is all this to the Text, may some say, or what to the point? What is all this to the Duty of Thanksgiving? Much every manner of way: or else blame St. Paul of impertinency, whose discourse should be incoherent and unjointed, if what I have now last said were beside the Text. For since the sanctification of the creature to our use dependeth upon the powerful and good word of God blessing it unto us, that duty must needs be necessary to a sanctified use of the creature, without which we can have no fair assurance unto our consciences that that word of blessing is proceeded out of the mouth of God. And such is this Duty of Thanksgiving, appointed by God as the ordinary means and proper instrument §. 42. And how this belongeth to the present point.

[h] See before, §. 14. I. ii. [54.]

[i] Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis, acescit. Horat. Epist.

[j] *Fide purificans corda.* Acts xv. 9.

to procure that word of blessing from Him. When we have performed this sincerely and faithfully, our hearts may then, with a most cheerful but yet humble confidence, say Amen, So be it, in full assurance that God will join His fiat to ours, crown our Amen with His, and to our So be it of Faith and Hope, add His of Power and Command: blessing His creatures unto us, when we bless Him for them, and sanctifying their use to our comfort, when we magnify His goodness for the receipt. You see therefore how, as unseparable and undivided companions, the Apostle joineth these two together: the one, as the cause, the other, as the means of the creature's sanctification: *It is sanctified by the word of God, and prayer.* By the word of God's powerful decree, as the sole efficient, and sufficient cause; and by the prayer of thanksgiving, for such prayer he meaneth as either hath thanksgiving joined with it, or else is a part of thanksgiving, or thanksgiving a part of it: by prayer, I say, and thanksgiving, as the proper means to obtain it. This is the blessed effect of thanksgiving, as it is an act of Religion. And thus you have heard two grand reasons, concluding the necessity of thanksgiving unto God in the receiving and using of His good creatures. The one, considering it as an act of Justice, because it is the only acceptable discharge of that obligation of debt, wherein we stand bound unto God for the free use of so many good creatures. The other, considering it is an act of Religion, because it is the most proper and convenient means to procure from the mouth of God a word of blessing, to sanctify the creatures to the uses of our lives and to the comfort of our consciences. This Thanksgiving being an act both of Justice and Religion, whensoever we either receive or use any good creature of God without this, we are unjust in the receipt, and in the use profane. It is now high time we should, from the premisses, infer something for our further use and edification.

§. 43. The first Inference; for *Conviction* of our Unthankfulness unto God,

43. And the first Inference may be, shall I say for trial, or may I not rather say, for conviction? Since we shall learn thereby, not so much to examine our Thankfulness, how true it is, as to discover our unthankfulness, how foul it is. And how should that discovery cast us down to a deep condemnation of ourselves for so much both injustice and profaneness,

when we shall find ourselves guilty of so many failings in the performance of such a necessary Duty both of Justice and Religion. But we cannot abide to hear on this ear. We unthankful to God? far be that from us: we scarce ever speak of any thing we have, or have done or suffered, but we send this clause after it, I thank God for it. And how are we unthankful, seeing we do thus? It is a true saying, which one saith: Thanking of God is a thing all men do, and yet none do as they should. It is often *in udo*,* but seldom *in imo:* it swimmeth often upon the tip of our tongues, but seldom sinketh into the bottom of our hearts. 'I thank God for it,' is, as many use it, rather a by-word[k] than a thanksgiving: so far from being an acceptable service to God, and a magnifying of His name, that it is rather itself a grievous sin, and a taking of His Holy Name in vain. But if we will consider duly and aright, not so much how near we draw unto God with our lips, as how far our hearts are from Him when we say so, we shall see what small reason we have, upon such a slender lip-labour, to think ourselves discharged either of the bond of thankfulness or from the sin of unthankfulness. *Quid verba audiam, facta cum videam?*† Though we say, 'I thank God,' a thousand and a thousand times over, yet if in our deeds we bewray foul unthankfulness unto Him, it is but *Protestatio contraria facto;*‡ and we do thereby but make ourselves the greater and deeper liars.

§. 44. in sundry degrees: for want of due

44. Every sin is spacious and diffused, and spreadeth into a number of branches: this of Ingratitude not least. Yet we will do our best to reduce all that multitude to some few principal branches. There are required unto true Thankfulness three things, Recognition, Estimation, Retribution. He that

* Persius, Sat. i. 105.

[k] Sic usu quodam magis quam sensu vel affectu personare in ore multorum gratiarum actionem advertere est .... Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 13. [§. 2. tom. i. 1302 D. ed. Ben.]

† See Sermon iii. ad Aulam, §. 15.

‡ '*Protestatio contraria facto,*' quoted again, Sermon vii. §. 41. Compare Langbaine's Review of the Covenant, p. 40. 'What the Civilians call *Protestatio contraria facto*, as if one should kill or rob a man and vow to do him no wrong:' and Jer. Taylor's Dedication of his Sermon at the Opening of the Parliament, May 8, 1661: 'I ought not to dispute your commands for the printing of my Sermon of Obedience, lest my Sermon should be *Protestatio contra factum.*' Daoyz, Index in Jus Pontif. v. *Protestatio:* 'Protestatio contraria facto juvat protestantem, quando factum non est contrarium vere, sed praesumptive, et a potestate protestantis dependet tollere factum, et effectum facti.'

hath received a benefit from another, he ought, first, faithfully to acknowledge it; secondly, to value it worthily; thirdly, to endeavour really to requite it. And whoso faileth in any of these, is, so far as he faileth, unthankful more or less. And do not some of us fail in all? and do not all of us fail in some of these? For our more assured whether examination or conviction, let us a little consider how we have and do behave ourselves in each of the three respects. In every of which we will instance but in two kinds; and so we shall have six degrees of Ingratitude: still holding ourselves as close as we can to the present point, concerning our thankfulness or unthankfulness, as it respecteth the use we have of, and the benefit we have from, the good creatures of God.

§. 45. I. Recognition: the first Degree,

45. And first, we fail in our Recognition, and in the due acknowledgment of God's blessings. And therein first, and let that be the first degree of our unthankfulness, in letting so many blessings of His slip by us, without any regard, or so much as notice taken of them. Whereas knowledge must ever go before acknowledgment, and apprehension before confession. There is a twofold confession to be made unto God:[1] the one of our sins, the other of His goodness. That belongeth to repentance, this to thankfulness. Both of them consist in an acknowledgment; and in both the acknowledgment is most faithful, when it is most punctual; and in both we come to make default for want of taking such particular information as we ought and might. In our repentance, we content ourselves commonly with a general confession of our sins, or, at the most, possibly sometimes make acknowledgment of some one or a few grosser falls, which gall our consciences, or which the world crieth shame of; and if we do that, we think we have made an excellent confession. So in our thanksgivings, ordinarily we content ourselves with a general acknowledgment of God's goodness and mercies to us; or sometimes possibly recount some one or a few notable and eminent favours,[m] such as most affect us, or whereof the world taketh

[1] Confessio gemina est, aut Peccati, aut Laudis. August. Enarr. 2. in Ps. xxix. [tom. iv. 142 A. ed. Ben. Paris. 1681. *διπλοῦν τὸ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως εἶδός ἐστιν*] *ἡ γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστὶ κατάγνωσις, ἡ εὐχαριστία πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.* Chrysost. in Ps. ix. [tom. v. p. 93 B. ed. Ben.]

[m] Beneficia quaedam magnitudo non patitur excidere: quaedam minora, sed numero plurima, et temporibus diversa, effluunt. Seneca, de Benef. iii. 5.

notice; and this is all we do. But we do indeed, in both these, deal unfaithfully with God and with our own souls. If we desire to show ourselves truly penitent, we should take knowledge, so far as possibly we could, of all our sins, small and great, at least the several species and kinds of them, for the individuals are infinite, and bring them all before God in the confession of repentance. And if we desired to show ourselves truly thankful, we should take notice, so far as possibly we could, and in the species at least, of all God's blessings, small and great; and bring them all before Him in the confession of praise. We should even *colligere fragmenta*, gather up the very *broken meats*,[n] and let nothing be lost, those small petty blessings,[o] as we account them, and, as we think, scarce worth the observation. Did we so, how many baskets full might be taken up, which we daily suffer to fall to the ground and be lost. Like swine under the oaks, we grouze* up the akecorns,† and snouk‡ about for more, and eat them too, and when we have done, lie wrouting,§ and thrusting our noses in the earth for more; but never lift up so much as half an eye to the tree that shed them.‖ Every crumb we put in our mouths, every drop wherewith we cool our tongues, the very air we continually breathe in and out through our throats and nostrils,¶ a thousand other such things whereof the very commonness taketh away the observation, we receive from His fulness; and many of these *are renewed every morning*, and some of these are renewed every minute. And yet how sel-

[n] S. John vi. 12. [*broken meat* in all the Versions previous to the Rhemish, which has *fragments*.]

[o] [Denique jubemur] colligere fragmenta ne pereant: id est nec minima beneficia oblivisci. Bernard in Cant. Serm. 51. [§. 6. tom. i. 1443 B. ed. Ben.]

* 'grouze,' *eat with a noise*, as is the wont of cows and pigs, is still in use in Lincolnshire.

† 'akecorns.' Minshew has 'akorne.' The original form is 'accorne,' given in the Promptorium Parvulorum, derived immediately from *ac* and *aec*, the Anglo-Saxon for 'Oak.' Jamieson gives 'aik' and 'ayk.'

‡ 'snouk,' *sniff*, or *snuff*. *Snook* is explained in the Craven Glossary, 'to smell, to scent.'

§ 'wrouting.' To wrout, to *bore*, to *dig up* like a hog, to *root*. Brockett's North Country Words. Dr. White's Glossary to the Ormulum gives Rote=root, and rót as the Icelandic form. Waterland may therefore have been too hard upon Hearnes' explanation of 'Roters,' in Robert of Gloucester, by *Eradicatores*. Works, vi. 266. Oxon. 1843.

‖ Compare the last words of the beautiful passage with which Linnaeus opens the Dedication of his Hortus Cliffortianus. Sus pinguescit glandibus, neque arborem adspicit unde ceciderit fructus. O stupida animalia!

¶ The first Edition, 1628, is singular in exhibiting the more ancient form, 'nosthrils.'

dom do we so much as take notice of many of these things. How justly might that complaint, which God maketh against
Is. i. 3. the unthankful Israelites, be taken up against us. *The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.*

§. 46. the second Degree. 46. The second degree of our unthankfulness to God, and that also for want of faithful acknowledgment, is in ascribing the good things He hath given us to our own deserts or endeavours, or to any other thing or creature, either in part or in whole, but only to Him. Such things indeed we have, and we know it too, perhaps but too well; but we bestirred ourselves for them, we beat our brains for them, we got them out of the fire, and sweat for them: we may thank our good friends, or we may thank our good selves for them. Thus do
Hab. i. 16. we sacrifice unto our own nets, and burn incense to our drag, as if by them our portion were fat and our meat plenteous.
S. Luke xiii. 1. And as Pilate mingled the blood of the Galileans with their
Ps. l. 14. own sacrifices, so into these spiritual sacrifices of thanksgiving, which we offer unto God, we infuse a quantity of our own swink* and sweat, of our own wit and forecast, of our own power and friends, still some one thing or other of our own, and so rob God, if not of all, yet of so much of His honour. This kind of unthankfulness God both foresaw and forbad in His own people, Deut. viii, warning them to take heed, verse 17, lest, when they abounded in all plenty and prosperity, they should forget the Lord, and say in their hearts, *My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth.* The very saying or thinking of this was a forgetting of God. But, saith Moses there, *Thou shalt remember the Lord thy God: for it is He that giveth thee power to get wealth.* The whole chapter is none other but a warn-word† against unthankfulness. All glorying in ourselves,[p] all vain

* 'swink,' *swinck*, or *swynk*, Anglo-Saxon, *labour*, noun and verb. Jamieson and Nares give instances of both. The latter notes the use of 'swinkt' for *wearied*, by Milton, in Comus, 303, as a word much disused in his time. The Masque however was presented in 1634, only ten years after this Sermon was preached; and Mr. Brockett, in his Glossary of North Country Words in Use, gives 'swinked,' *oppressed, vexed, fatigued*, literally *worked*.

† 'warn-word.' Can Sanderson have borrowed this remarkable word from one of Father Parsons' Titlepages? 'The Warn-word to Sir F. Hastinges Wast-word: containing the issue of three former Treatises, the Watch-word, the Ward-word, and the Wast-word, &c. Anno 1602.'

[p] Est quippe superbia, et delic-

boasting of the gifts of God, or bearing ourselves high upon any of His blessings, is a kind of smothering of the receipt; and argueth in us a kind of loathness to make a free acknowledgment of the Giver's bounty, and so is tainted with a spice of unthankfulness in this degree. *If thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* saith my Apostle elsewhere. He that glorieth in that for which he even giveth thanks, doth by that glorying, as much as he dareth, reverse his thanks. The Pharisee, who thanked God he was not like other men, did even then, and by those very thanks, but bewray his own wretched unthankfulness.

1 Cor. iv. 7.

S. Luke xviii. 11.

§. 47. II. Estimation: the third.

47. Besides a faithful Recognition, in freely acknowledging the benefit received, there is required unto thankfulness a just Estimation of the benefit, in valuing it as it deserveth. Wherein we make default, if either we value it not at all, or undervalue it. The third degree then of our ingratitude unto God is the forgetfulness of His benefits. When we so easily forget them, it is a sign we set nought by them.[q] Every man readily remembereth those things he maketh any reckoning of: insomuch that although old age be naturally forgetful, yet Tully saith,[r] he never knew any man so old, as to forget where he had hid his gold, or to whom he had lent his monies. In Deut. viii, Moses warneth the people, as you heard, to beware, lest, being full, they should forget the Lord that had fed them; and David stirreth up his soul in Psalm ciii, to bless the Lord, and not to forget any of His benefits. We all condemn Pharaoh's butler of unthankfulness to Joseph; and so we may well do; for he afterwards condemned himself for it, in that, having received comfort from Joseph when they were fellow-prisoners, he yet forgat him when he was in place where, and had power and opportunity, to requite him. How inexcusable are we, that so condemn him, seeing, wherein we

Verses 12–14.

Verse 2.

Gen. xli. 9.

xl. 23.

tum maximum, uti datis tanquam innatis; et in acceptis beneficiis gloriam usurpare beneficii. Bernard. de dilig. Deo. [1230 D.]

[q] Apparet illum non saepe de reddendo cogitasse, cui obrepsit oblivio. Seneca, de Benef. iii. 1. Perveniunt eo quo, ut ego existimo, pessimus quisque et ingratissimus pervenit, ut obliviscantur. ibid. c. 5.

[r] Nec vero quemquam senum audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt: vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, quibus ipsi debeant. Cicero, de Senect. [21.]

judge him, we condemn ourselves as much, and much more; for we do the same things, and much worse. He forgat Joseph, who was but a man like himself: we forget God. He had received but one good turn: we many. It is like he had none about him to put him in mind of Joseph; for as for Joseph himself, we know he lay by it,* and could have no access: we have God Himself daily rubbing up our memories, both by His Word and Ministers, and also by new and fresh benefits. He, as soon as a fair occasion presented itself, confest his fault, and remembered Joseph, thereby showing his former forgetfulness to have proceeded rather from negligence than wilfulness: we, after so many fresh remembrances and blessed opportunities, still continue in a kind of wilful and confirmed resolution still to forget. Well may we forget these private and smaller blessings, when we begin to grow but too forgetful of those great and public deliverances God hath wrought for us. Two great deliverances in the memory of many of us, God in His singular Mercy wrought for us of this land, such as, I think, take both together, no Christian age or land can parallel. One formerly, from a foreign invasion abroad; another since that, from an hellish conspiracy at home: both such, as we would all have thought, when they were done, should never have been forgotten. And yet, as if this were *Terra Oblivionis, the land where all things are forgotten*, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they by little and little grow into forgetfulness! We have lived to see† Eighty-eight‡ almost quite forgotten, and buried in a perpetual amnesty: God be blessed, who hath graciously pre-

* 'lay by it,' *was in close confinement*. Compare Sermon x. ad Aulam, §. 22.

† 'We have lived to see.' So first in the Fourth Edition. In the first, 'We had almost loved, to see,' a misprint, we may presume. In the second and third, 'We had almost lived, to see.' The 'perpetual amnesty' would have been the result of the marriage of Charles with the Infanta. The Spanish Match was broken off at the close of the year before that in which this Sermon was preached.

‡ 'Eighty-eight.' Compare Rushworth, i. 4. 'the intended cruelty of Eighty Eight;' and in Alured's Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, ibid. 92. 'Since Eighty Eight, even while there was a treaty of Peace, their Armado came upon us.' The Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot are mentioned together, below, Sermon viii. §. 36; as they are also by South, Sermon 61. iii. 368. Oxon. 1842.

vented what we feared herein. God grant that we, nor our's, ever live to see November's fifth forgotten, or the solemnity of that day silenced.§

48. A fourth degree of unthankfulness is, in undervaluing God's blessings, and lessening the worth of them. A fault whereof the murmuring Israelites were often guilty: who, although they were brought into a *good land, flowing with milk and honey*, and abounding in all good things both for necessity and delight, yet, as it is in Psalm cvi, *they thought scorn of that pleasant land*, and were ever and anon, and upon every light occasion, repining against God and against Moses; always receiving good things from God, and yet always discontent at something or other. And where is there a man among us that can wash his hands in innocency, and discharge himself altogether from the guilt of unthankfulness in this kind? Where is there a man so constantly and equally content with his portion, that he hath not sometimes or other either grudged at the leanness of his own, or envied at the fatness of another's lot? We deal with our God herein, as Hiram did with Solomon. Solomon gave him twenty cities in the land of Galilee; but because the country was low and deep, and so in all likelihood the more fertile for that, *they pleased him not; and he said to Solomon, What cities are these thou hast given me? and he called them Cabul*, that is to say, dirty. So we are witty to cavil and to quarrel at God's gifts, if they be not in every respect such as we, in our vain hopes or fancies, have ideated* unto ourselves. This is dirty, that barren; this too solitary, that too populous; this ill-wooded, that ill-watered; a third ill-aired, a fourth ill-neighboured. This grudging and repining at our portions,[s] and faulting† of

§. 48. and fourth degree.

Ps. cvi. 24.

1 Kings ix. 11–13.

§ Sanderson, born in September, 1587, had entered his nineteenth year at the time of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. Fuller, born in 1608, speaks of the observance of the fifth of November, 'not as yet fifty years old, beginning already to wax weak and decay:' i. e. about thirty years later than the date of this Sermon. See Church History, Book x. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. §. 41. Bishop Pearson, born 1613, in a Sermon preached 1673, says, 'May we never live to see these times, in which the memory of this day shall be blotted out, or rather cast out with indignation: may we never hear of such an act of oblivion.' Churton's ed. of his Minor Works, ii. 150.

* 'ideated.' Donne, in a letter to Sir Henry Wotton, '.... But for these, I could ideate nothing, which could please.' Poems, p. 63. 4°. London, 1633.

[s] μεμψίμοιροι. S. Jude 16.

† 'faulting.' See above, §. 9.

God's gifts, so frequent among us, argueth but too much the unthankfulness of our hearts.

§. 49. III. Retribution: the fifth;

49. The last thing required unto Thankfulness, after a faithful acknowledgment of the receipt, and a just valuation of the thing received, is Retribution and Requital. And that must be real, if it be possible; but at the least it must be votal, in the desire and endeavour. And herein also, as in both the former, there may be a double fail: if, having received a benefit, we requite it either not at all, or ill. Not to have any care at all of Requital is the fifth degree of Unthankfulness. To a Requital, as you heard,[t] Justice bindeth us: either to the party himself that did us the good turn, if it may be, and be either expedient or needful; or, at the least, to his. David retained such a grateful memory of Jonathan's true friendship and constant affection to him, that, after he was dead and gone, he hearkened after* some of his friends, that he might requite Jonathan's love by some kindness to them. *Is there yet any left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?* and surely he were a very unthankful wretch, that having been beholden to the father, as much as his life and livelihood is worth, would suffer the son of so welldeserving a father to perish for want of his help, and would not strain himself a little even beyond his power, if need were, to succour him. Indeed to God, as we heard, we can render nothing that is worthy the name of Requital: we must not so much as think of that. But yet somewhat we must do, to express the true and unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, which, though it be nothing less, yet it pleaseth Him for Christ's sake to interpret as a Requital. And that to Him, and His. To Him, by seeking His glory: to His, by the fruits of our Christian Charity. We adventure our states and lives to maintain the honour and safety of our Kings in their just wars, from whom perhaps we never received particular favour or benefit, other than the common benefit and protection of subjects. And are we not then foully ungrateful to God, to whose goodness we owe all that we have or are, if, for the advancement of His glory, and the main-

2 Sam. ix. 1.

[t] See before, §. 38.

* 'hearkened after,' *sought after*. So B. Jonson, The Silent Woman, i. 2. 'He has imployed a fellow this halfe yeere, all over England, to harken him out a dumbe woman.'

tenance of His truth, we make dainty* to spend the best and most precious things we have, yea, though it be the dearest heart-blood in our bodies? But how much more ungrateful, if we think much, for His sake, to forgo liberty, lands, livings, houses, goods, offices, honours, or any of these smaller and inferior things? Can there be greater unthankfulness than to grudge Him a small, who hath given us all? In these yet peaceable times of our Church and State, God be thanked, we are not much put to it. But who knoweth how soon a heavy day of trial may come,† (we all know it cannot come sooner or heavier than our sins have deserved,) wherein woe, woe to our unthankfulness, if we do not freely and cheerfully render unto God of those things He hath given us whatsoever He shall require of us? But yet even in these peaceable times there want not opportunities whereon to exercise our thankfulness, and to manifest our desires of Requital, though not to Him, yet to His, to His servants and children in their afflictions, to His poor distressed members in their manifold necessities. These opportunities we never did, we never shall want, according to our Saviour's prediction, or rather promise, *Pauperes semper habebitis,*‡ *The poor you shall always have with you,* as my deputy-receivers; *but me,* in person, *ye shall not have always.* And what we do, or not do, to these, whom He thus constituted His deputies, He taketh it as done or not done unto Himself. If, when God hath given us prosperity, we suffer these to be distressed, and comfort them not; or victuals, to perish, and feed them not; or clothing, to starve, and cover them not; or power, to be oppressed, and rescue them not; or ability in any kind, to want it, and relieve them not; let us make what shows we will, let us make what profession we will, of our thankfulness to God, what we deny to these we deny to Him; and as we deal with these, if His case were theirs, as He is pleased to make their case His, we

S. Matthew xxv. 40.

* 'make dainty,' *hold out,* or *refuse,* affecting to be delicate or dainty; *scruple.* Romeo and Juliet, i. 5. To 'make nice' has the same meaning. Nares' Glossary.

† Compare §. 56 below, and Sermon iii, the close of §. 34, for other expressions of the same feeling of apprehension in reference to National Troubles.

‡ '*habebitis.*' So Beza. Both verbs are in the future in Wycliffe, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible. In Cranmer, *For ye have the poor always with you; but me shall ye not have always.* See the quotation of S. Matthew xxvi. 11. below, §. 61.

would so deal with Him. And what is to be unthankful, if this be not?

§. 50. and sixth degree.

50. And yet, behold unthankfulness more and greater than this, unthankfulness in the sixth, and last, and highest, and worst degree. We requite Him evil for good. In that other we were unjust, not to requite Him at all; but injurious also in this, to requite Him with ill. It sticketh upon King Joash as a brand of infamy for ever, that he slew Zachary, the son of Jehoiada the High Priest, who had been true and faithful to him both in the getting of the kingdom and in the administration of it, recorded to all posterity; *Thus Joash the King remembered not the kindness which Jehoiada the father had done him, but slew his son: and when he died, he said, The Lord look upon it, and require it.* And it was not long before the Lord did indeed look upon it, and require it: the very next verse beginneth to lay down the vengeance that God brought upon him for it. And yet compared with ours, Joash his ingratitude was nothing. Jehoiada was bound as a subject to assist the right heir: God is not bound to us: He is a debtor to none. Joash had right to the crown before Jehoiada set it on his head: we have no right at all to the creature, but by God's gift. Joash, though he dealt not well with the son, yet he evermore esteemed the father so long as he lived, and was advised by him in the affairs of his kingdom: we rebel even against God Himself, and cast all His counsels behind our backs. Joash slew the son; but he was a mortal man and his subject; and he had given him, at least as he apprehended it, some affront and provocation: we by our sins and disobedience crucify the Son of God, 'the Lord, and Giver of Life,'[u] by whom, and in whom, and from whom, we enjoy all good blessings, and of whom we are not able to say that ever He dealt unkindly with us, or gave us the least provocation. But as Israel, whom God calleth Jeshurun, and compareth to an heifer fed in large and fruitful pastures, going always at full bit,* grew fat and wanton, and kicked with the heel, so we, the more plentifully God hath heaped His bless-

2 Chron. xxiv. 22.

Deut. xxxii. 15.

[u] Symb. Nicen.

* 'going always at full bit.' Compare Bp. Hall, Quo Vadis? sect. 20. 'a wild tongue that runs with reins in the neck.' and Beaumont and Fletcher, Monsieur Thomas, i. 1. 'a pacer that lays the bridle in her neck.'

ings upon us, the more wantonly have we followed the swing of our own hearts, and the more contemptuously spurned at His holy Commandments. It was a grievous bill of complaint which the Prophet, in the name of God, preferred against Israel, that His corn and wine and oil, and the silver and gold which He had given them, they employed in the service of Baal, an abominable idol. If, when God giveth us wit, wealth, power, authority, health, strength, liberty, every other good thing, instead of using these things to His glory and the comfortable relief of His servants, we abuse them, some or all, to the service of those idols which we have erected to ourselves in our hearts; to the maintenance of our pride and pomp, making Lucifer our God; of our pelf and profits, making Mammon our God; of our swinish pleasures and sensuality, making our belly our God: are we not as deep in the bill as those Israelites were? as unjust as they, as profane as they, as unthankful every way as they? Flatter we not ourselves. Obedience to God's Commandments, and a sober and charitable use of His creatures, is the best and surest evidence of our thankfulness to God, and the fairest requital we can make for them. If we withdraw our obedience and fall into open rebellion against God, if we abuse them, in making them either the occasions or instruments of sin, to the dishonour of God and damage of His servants, we repay Him ill and unworthily for the good we have received, and are guilty of unthankfulness in this foulest and highest degree.

Hosea ii. 8.

Phil. iii. 19.

51. Now we have seen what we are: let us say the worst we can by unthankful ones; call them wretches, caitiffs, churls, any thing; load them with infamies, disgraces, contumelies; charge them with injustice, profaneness, atheism; condemn them, and with them the vice itself, unthankfulness, to the pit of hell; do all this and more, and spare not; and, as David did at Nathan's parable, when we hear any case or example of ingratitude in any of the former degrees, whether really done or but in a parable, pronounce sentence upon the guilty, *The man that hath done this thing shall surely die;* but withal let us remember, when we have so done, that our hearts instantly prompt us what Nathan told David, *Thou art the man.* We, we are the men, we are these unthankful ones, unthankful to God, first, in passing by so many of His blessings

§. 51.

2 Sam. xii. 5.

Verse 7.

without taking any consideration of them. Unthankful, secondly, in ascribing His blessings wholly or partly to ourselves, or any other but Him. Unthankful, thirdly, in valuing His blessings so lightly as to forget them. Unthankful, fourthly, in diminishing the worth of His blessings, and repining at our portion therein. Unthankful, fifthly, in not rendering to Him and His according to the good He hath done for us; but sixthly, and most of all unthankful, in requiting Him evil for good, and hatred for His good will. Dealing thus with Him, let us not now marvel, if He begin to deal something strangely, and otherwise than He was wont, with us; if He deny us His creatures, when we want them; if He take them from us, when we have them; if He withhold His blessing from them, that it shall not attend them; if we find small comfort in them, when we use them; if they be unanswering our expectations, when we have been at some pains and cost with them; if, as the Hagg. i. 6. Prophet speaketh, we sow much and bring in little, we eat and have not enough, we drink and are not filled, we clothe us and we are not warm, and the wages we earn we put into a bag with holes; if any of these things befall us, let us cease to wonder thereat: ourselves are the causers of all our woe. It is our great unthankfulness that blasteth all our endeavours, that leaveneth with sourness whatsoever is sweet, and turneth into poison whatsoever is wholesome in the good creatures of 1 Tim. iv. 5. God. It is the Word of God and prayer that sanctifieth them to our use; and they are then good, when they are received with thanksgiving. So long as we continue unthankful, we are vain if we look for any sanctification in them, if we expect any good from them.

§. 52. The second Inference, of *Exhortation*; with sundry motives to Thankfulness.

52. I have now done with my first Inference, for trial, or rather conviction. I add a second, of exhortation. The duty itself being so necessary as we have heard, necessary, as an act of Justice for the receipt of the creature, and necessary, as an act of Religion for the sanctifying of the creature, how should our hearts be inflamed with an holy desire, and all our powers quickened up to a faithful endeavour, conscionably to perform this so necessary a duty. One would think that very necessity, together with the consciousness of our former unthankfulness, should in all reason be enough to work in us that both desire and endeavour. In all reason, it should so; but

we are unreasonable; and much ado there is to persuade us to any thing that is good, even when we are persuaded. Wherefore, to enforce the exhortation more effectually, I must have leave to press the performance of this Duty upon our consciences, with some further inducements and important considerations.

53. Consider, first, the excellency of the Duty. There are but three Heads whereto we refer all that is called good: *Jucundum, Utile, Honestum:* Pleasure, Profit, and Honesty. There is nothing desirable or lovely but in one or other of these three respects. Each of these singly we account good; but that excellently good, wherein they all concur. We love things that will give us delight, sometimes when there is neither profit nor credit in them: we love things that will bring us profit, though possibly neither delightful greatly, nor seemly; and we love things that we think will do us honesty, oftentimes without regard either of pleasure or profit. How should we then be affected to this duty of giving thanks and singing praises unto our God, wherein all these do jointly concur, and that also in an excellent measure. David hath wrapped them all together in one verse, in the beginning of Psalm cxlvii. *Praise ye the Lord, for it is good; yea, it is a pleasant thing, and praise is comely.* It is good, it will bring you profit: it is pleasant, it will afford you delight; and it is comely, it will do you honesty; and what can heart wish more? Again, many good virtues and graces of God in us shall expire together with us; which, though they be eternal in their fruit and reward, yet are not so as to their proper acts, which after this life shall cease, because there shall be neither need nor use of them then. *Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, or whether there be tongues, they shall cease; or whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.* There shall be no use of taming the flesh by fasting, or of supplying the want either of others by alms, or of ourselves by prayer. Nay, even Faith and Hope themselves shall have an end; for we shall not then need to believe, when we shall see; nor to expect, when we shall enjoy. But giving of thanks and praise and honour and glory unto God, shall remain in the Kingdom of Heaven and of glory. It is now the continual blessed exercise of the glorious Angels and Saints in Heaven; and it shall be ours, when

§. 53. viz. 1°. The excellency of the Duty.

1 Cor. xiii. 8.

Rev. iv. 8–11; and vii. 11, 12.

we shall be translated thither. O that we would learn often to practise here what we hope shall be our eternal exercise there! O that we would accustom ourselves, being *filled in the spirit,** *to speak to ourselves in Psalms and Hymns and spiritual Songs, singing and making melody in our hearts to the Lord: giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ:* as speaketh our Apostle, Ephes. v.

Eph. v. 18–20.

§. 54. 2°. The continuance of God's Blessings.

54. Consider, secondly, the multitude and variety and continuance of God's blessings; and let that provoke thy thankfulness. If thou hadst received but one or a few benefits, yet thanks were due even for those few, or for that one, more than thou art able to return. But what canst thou allege, or how excuse thy unthankfulness, when His mercies are *renewed every morning*, nay, every moment;[x] when He is ever opening His hand, and pouring out His blessings, and loading and even overwhelming thee with His benefits, as if He did vie with thee, and would have thee see how easily He can overcome thy evil with His goodness, and infinitely outstrip thine infinite ingratitude with His more infinite munificence? His Angels are about thee, though thou knowest it not: from a thousand unknown dangers He delivereth thee, which thou suspectedst not: He still continueth His goodness unto thee, and reprieveth thy destruction, though thou deservedst it not. What should I say more? thy very life and being thou owest to Him, in whom we all *live and move and have our being.* Thence resolve, with holy David, to sing praise unto the Lord as long as thou livest, and to sing praise unto thy God whilst thou hast thy being. Many and continual receipts should provoke many and continual thanks.

Ps. cxlv. 16.

lxviii. 19.

Acts xvii. 28.

Ps. civ. 33.

§. 55. 3°. Our future Necessities.

55. Consider, thirdly, thy future necessities. If thou wert sure of that thou hast, that thou and it should continue together for ever, and never part; and that thou couldst make pretty shift to live upon the old stock hereafter, and never stand in need to†

* '*in the spirit.*' So in all the Editions.

[x] ... Omni momento me Tibi obligas, dum omni momento mihi Tua magna beneficia praestas. Augustin. Soliloq. [animae ad Deum.] cap. 18. [tom. vi. in Append. col. 94 C. ed. Bened. Paris. 1685.] Dii vero tot munera, quae sine intermissione diebus ac noctibus fundunt. Seneca, de Benef. iv. 3.

† '*stand in need to.*' So in Sermon iii. ad Clerum, §. 31.

Him for more, there might be so much less need to take care for giving thanks for what is past. But it is not so with any of us. Of what we have, we are but tenants at courtesy; and we stand continually upon our good behaviour, whether we should hold of Him any longer, or no; and much of our future happiness standeth upon our present thankfulness. And with what face can we crave to have more, and yet more we must have or we cannot subsist, if we be not thankful for what we have? *Peremptoria res est ingratitudo,*[y] saith St. Bernard, it cutteth off* all kindness. *Ventus urens et exsiccans,*[z] like that strong east wind which in a night dried up the Red Sea, it holdeth off the streams of God's bounty from flowing, and drieth up those channels whereby His mercies were wont to be conveyed unto us.[a] Certainly this is one special cause why God so often saith us Nay, and sendeth us away empty when we ask; even because we are so little thankful to Him for former receipts. The rivers return all their waters to the sea[b] from whence they had them; and they gain this by the return, that the sea feedeth them again, and so by a continual fresh supply preserveth them in perpetual being and motion. If they should withhold that tribute, the sea would not long suffice them nourishment. So we, by giving, receive, and, by true paying the old debt, get credit to run upon a new score, and provoke future blessings by our thankfulness for former: as the earth by sending up vapours back to Heaven from the dew she hath received thence, filleth *the bottles of Heaven* with new moisture, to be poured down upon her again in due season in kindly and plentiful showers. By our prayers and thanksgiving, we erect a ladder like that which Jacob saw, whereon the Angels ascended and descended: we preserve a

Exod. xiv. 21.

Eccl. i. 7.

Gen. xxviii. 12.

[y] [hostis gratiae, inimica salutis.] Bernard. Serm. 77. [De Sept. Misericord. tom. i. col. 940 A. ed. Ben.]

* In the earlier Editions, 'it cutteth it of.'

[z] Augustin. Soliloq. c. 18. [Scio namque quod ingratitudo Tibi displiceat, quae radix est totius mali spiritalis, et ventus quidam desiccans et urens omne bonum, obstruens fontem divinae misericordiae super hominem ... tom. vi. in Append. 93 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

[a] Gratiarum cessat decursus, ubi recursus non fuerit. Bernard. Serm. 50. [In cap. Jejunii 1. tom. i. col. 815 E.]

[b] [Eructemus memoriam, donec praesentiam suspiramus, et] suae reddantur origini fluentae gratiae, ut uberius fluant. Alioquin, nisi ad fontem redeant, exsiccantur. Bernard. Serm. 89. [In Nativitate B. V. Mariae, §. 13. tom. i. col. 1017 A. ed. Ben. al. de Aquae ductu.]

mutual intercourse betwixt Heaven and earth; and we maintain a kind of continual trading, as it were, betwixt God and us. The commodities are brought us in, they are God's blessings: for these we traffic by our prayers and thanksgivings. Let us therefore deal squarely,* as wise and honest Merchants should do. Let us keep touch,† and pay: it is as much as our credit is worth. Let us not think to have commodities still brought us in, and we send none out: *Omnia te adversum spectantia:*[c] this dealing cannot hold long. Rather let us think, that the quicker and speedier and more returns we make, our gains will be the greater; and that the oftener we pray and praise God for His blessings, the more we secure unto ourselves both the continuance and the increase of them.[d]

§. 56. Our Misery in wanting.

56. Consider, fourthly, thy misery, if thou shouldst want those things which God hath given thee. *Carendo magis quam fruendo.*[e] Fools will not know that true worth of things but by wanting, which wiser men had rather learn by having them. Yet this is the common folly of us all: we will not prize God's blessings as we should, till He for our unthankfulness take them from us, and teach us to value them better before we have them again. We repine at God's great blessings: we grudge at His gentle corrections, judging these too heavy, those too light. We think our very peace a burden, and complain of plenty as some would do of scarcity; and undervalue the blessed liberty we have of treading in His Courts, and partaking His holy Ordinances;‡ and all this, because by His great goodness we have so long enjoyed them; and this is our guise in every other thing proportionably. Did

* 'squarely,' *fairly, honestly*. See Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 17.

† 'keep touch.' See Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 29, and compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Two Noble Kinsmen, ii. 3. 'But will the dainty Dominie, the Schoolmaster, keep touch?'

[c] Hor. Epist. I. i. [75.]

[d] *ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς φθάσασιν εὐχάριστοι γενώμεθα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἑαυτοῖς πολλὴν προευτρεπίζομεν τὴν παρρησίαν.* Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 26. [iv. p. 253 A. ed. Ben.] *εὐλόγησας τὸν Θεόν, ὀφειλέτην αὐτὸν κατέστησε μείζονος εὐεργεσίας.* ibid. Hom. 25.

[e] [Amicitiae, consuetudines, vicinitates, clientelae, ludi denique, et dies festi, quid haberent voluptatis, carendo magis intellexi, quam fruendo. Cicero, ad Quirit. post Redit. 3.] *Οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ γνώμαισι, τἀγαθὸν χεροῖν Ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἴσασι, πρίν τις ἐκβάλῃ.* [Sophocles, Ajax, 964.] Tum denique homines nostra intelligimus bona, Quum, quae in potestate habuimus, ea amisimus. Plautus in Captiv. i. 2. [39.]

‡ Compare the end of §. 61, below.

we but feel awhile the miseries of our neighbour countries,* who want the blessings which we thus slight; or could we but forethink what our misery should be, if we, as they, had our throats ever before the sword, or were wasted with extreme famines and pestilences, or lived either in thick darkness, without the Gospel, or under cruel persecution for it; did we thus, though our hearts were as hard and cold as stones, it could not be but those thoughts would soften them, and inflame them to magnify and bless the holy Name of God for our long and present peace, for that measure of plenty, whatever it be, which we yet have, and for the still continued liberty of His glorious Gospel and sincere worship among us. God grant, that from our wretched unthankfulness He take not just occasion, by taking these great blessings from us, to teach us at once both how to use them better, and how to value them better.

§. 57. Our Importunity in asking.

57. Consider, fifthly, thy importunity with God when thou wantest any thing, and according to that proportion thy thanks when thou hast it. I remember what Bernard writeth of the Pope's servants and courtiers in his time: *Hi importuni ut accipiant, inquieti donec acceperint, ingrati ubi acceperint.*[f] When suitors come to the Pope's court with their businesses, the courtiers and officers lie in the wind† for them, greedily offering their service, and never quiet with them till they have got something; but by that they have got the money, they have forgot the man; and, having first served their own turn, they then leave the business to go which way it will. Not much unlike is our dealing with God. When we would have something, some outward blessing conferred, or some outward calamity removed,[g] for thankless devotions seldom look further than after these outward things, we are, as St. Chrysostom speaketh, *σφοδροί τινες*,[h] very eager and earnest with

* The disasters of the Wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and the sufferings of the French Protestants. See Sermon iii. ad Mag. §. 26.

[f] Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugen. iv. [2. *donec accipiant.* tom. i. col. 437 A.]

† So Bp. Hall, Satires, IV. v. 121. 'Whiles his false broker lieth in the wind.'

[g] Multos quoque videmus usque hodie satis importune petentes quod sibi deesse cognoverint; sed paucos admodum novimus qui dignas super acceptis beneficiis gratias agere videantur. Bernard. Serm. de Diversis 27. [tom. i. 1141 C. ed. Ben.]

[h] Chrysost. in Ps. cxxxvii. [*εἶδες προσοχὴν ἐπιτεταμένην; οὐ καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν χαύνων καὶ διαλελυμένων, πρὶν ἢ μὲν λαβεῖν σφοδροί τινές εἰσι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ λαβεῖν ἀναπεπτωκότες· ἀλλ' οὗτος καὶ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν ἐπίκειτο*

God, we must have no Nay, we wrestle with Him, and that stoutly, as if we would outwrestle Jacob for a blessing; and we will not let Him go till we have obtained it. But μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν ἀναπεπτωκότες, saith Chrysostom there. When our turn is served, and we have what we would have, by and by all our devotion is at an end: we never think of thanks. All the ten Lepers begged hard of Christ for a cleansing: the Text saith, *they lift up their voices:* they were all loud enough whilst they were suitors. *Sed ubi novem?* there returned not to give God thanks for their cleansing, of the whole ten, any more than barely one single man. It is our case just. When we want any of the good creatures of God for our necessities, we open our mouths wide, till He open His hand, and fill them with plenteousness; but after, as if the filling of our mouths were the stopping of our throats, so are we speechless and heartless. Shame we to be so clamorous when we crave from Him, and so dumb when we should give Him thanks.

Gen. xxxii. 25, 26.

S. Luke xvii. 13, 17.

Ps. lxxxi. 10. cxlv. 16.

§. 58. The freedom of the Gift.

58. Consider, lastly, how freely God hath given thee what He hath given thee. *Dupliciter gratis*, saith Bernard: *sine merito tuo, sine labore suo.*[i] Freely both ways: freely without thy desert, and freely without so much as thy pains. Freely, first, without thy desert. Jacob, a man as well deserving as thou, yet confest himself not worthy of the least of all God's mercies. And St. Paul cutteth off all challenge of desert by that interrogatory, *Who hath first given Him, and it shall be recompensed him?* as who should say, No man can challenge God, as if He owed him ought. If He have made Himself a debtor to us by His promise, and indeed He hath so made Himself a debtor to us, yet that is still *gratis*, and for nothing, because the promise itself was free, without either debt in Him[k] or desert in us. Nay more, God

Gen. xxxii. 10. Rom. xi. 35.

ται, καὶ μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν μένει διηνεκῶς εὐχαριστῶν. tom. v. 405 E. ed. Ben.]

[i] Bernard. in Psalm. *Qui habitat.* Serm. 14. [§. 2. tom. i. 867 D. ed. Ben.]

[k] Nulla Deo dandi beneficii causa est. Seneca, de Benef. iv. 3. Atquin ego rebar paulo ante spontaneas esse numinum benignitates, ultroque ab his fluere inexpectata benevolentiae munera. Arnob. c. Gent. iii. [24.] Deus autem nulli debet aliquid, qui omnia gratuito praestat. Etsi quisquam dicet ab illo aliquid deberi meritis suis, certe ut esset, non ei debebatur. Non enim erat, cui deberetur. Augustin. de Lib. Arbit. iii. 16. [tom. i. 628 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1679.]

hath been good to us, not only when we had not deserved it, but, which still more magnifieth His bounty and bindeth us the stronger to be thankful, when we had deserved the quite contrary. And how is it possible we should forget such His unspeakable kindness, in giving us much good, when we had done none, nay in giving us much good, when we had done much ill? And as He gave it *sine merito*, so *sine labore* too: the creature being freely bestowed on us, as on the one side not by way of reward for any desert of ours, so neither on the other side by way of wages for any labour of ours. To show that God giveth not His blessings for our labour merely, He sometimes giveth them not where they are laboured for; and again He giveth them sometimes where they are not laboured for. If in the ordinary dispensation of His Providence He bestow them upon them that labour, as Solomon saith, *the diligent hand maketh rich;* and seldom otherwise, Prov. xii. 24. and xiii. 4. for he that will not labour, it is fit he should not eat, yet that 2 Thess. iii. 10. labour is to be accounted but as the means, not as a sufficient cause thereof. And if we dig to the root, we shall still find it was *gratis;* for even that power to labour was the gift of God: *It is God that giveth thee power to get wealth.* Yea, Deut. viii. 18. in this sense, nature itself is grace,[1] because given *gratis* and freely, without any labour, preparation, disposition, desert, or any thing at all in us.

§. 59. The third Inference; for *Direction:* by removing the impediments of Thankfulness.

59. All these considerations, the excellency of the Duty, the continuance of God's blessings, our future necessity, our misery in wanting, our importunity in craving, His free liberality in bestowing, should quicken us to a more conscionable performance of this so necessary, so just, so religious a Duty. And thus, having seen our unthankfulness discovered in six points, and heard many considerations to provoke us to thankfulness, it may be we have seen enough in that to make us hate the fault, and we would fain amend it; and it may be we have heard enough in this to make us affect the Duty; and we would fain practise it, may some say; but we are yet to learn how. The Duty being hard, and our backwardness great, what good course might be taken, effectually to reform this our so great backwardness, and to perform that so hard a

[1] See before, Sermon iii. ad Clerum, §. 18.

Duty? And so, you see, my second Inference, for exhortation, breedeth a third, and that is for direction, which, for satisfaction of those men that pretend willingness but plead ignorance, I should also prosecute, if I had so much time to spare. Wherein should be discovered what be the principal causes of our so great Unthankfulness, which taken away, the effect will instantly and of itself cease. Now those Causes are especially, as I conceive, these five, viz. 1°. Pride, and self-love; 2°. Envy, and discontentment; 3°. Riotousness, and epicurism; 4°. Worldly carefulness, and immoderate desires; 5°. Carnal security, and foreslowing* the time. Now then, besides the application of that which hath already been spoken in the former discoveries and motives, for every discovery of a fault doth virtually contain some means for the correcting of it, and every true motive to a duty doth virtually contain some helps unto the practice of it, besides these, I say, I know not how to prescribe any better remedies against unthankfulness, or helps unto thankfulness, than faithfully to strive for the casting out of those sins, and the subduing of those corruptions in us, which cause the one and hinder the other. But because the time and my strength are near spent, I am content to ease both myself and you, by cutting off so much of my provision as concerneth this Inference for direction, and desire you that it may suffice for the present but thus to have pointed at these impediments, and once more to name them. They are Pride, Envy, Epicurism, Carefulness, Security.†

§. 60. viz. 1°. Pride.

60. [I place Pride, where it would be,‡ the foremost; because it is of all other the principal impediment of Thankfulness.[m] Certainly there is no one thing in the world, so much as Pride, that maketh men unthankful. He that would be truly thankful must have his eyes upon both, the one eye upon the gift, and the other upon the giver; and this the proud man never hath. Either through self-love[n] he is stark-blind, and seeth neither, or else through partiality he winketh

* 'foreslowing,' *delaying, loitering*. As in Shakespeare, 3 Hen. IV. ii. 3; and Spenser, F. Q. IV. x. 15. Nares' Glossary.

† The matter actually delivered from the pulpit is not resumed till §. 65.

‡ Compare Sermon x. ad Aulam, §. 27.

[m] Videndum est nunc, quid maxime faciat ingratos. Aut nimius sui suspectus, et insitum mortalitati vitium se suaque mirandi, &c. Seneca, de Benef. ii. 26.

[n] Caecus amor sui. Hor. Carm. I. xviii. [14.]

on one eye, and will not look at both. Sometimes he seeth the gift but too much, and boasteth of it; but then he forgetteth the giver: he boasteth, as if he had not received it. 1 Cor. iv. 7. Sometimes again, he overlooketh the gift, as not good enough for him, and so repineth at the giver as if he had not given him according to his worth. Either he undervalueth the gift, or else he overvalueth himself: as if he were himself the giver, or at least the deserver; and is in both unthankful. To remove this impediment, whoever desireth to be thankful, let him humble himself, nay empty himself, nay deny himself, and all his deserts; confess himself with Jacob less than the least of God's mercies, and condemn his own heart of much sinful sacrilege,[o] if it dare but think the least thought tending to rob God of the least part of His honour. Gen. xxxii. 10.

61. Envy followeth Pride, the daughter the mother,[p] a second great impediment of thankfulness.[q] The fault is, that men, not content only to look upon their own things and the present, but comparing these with the things of other men or times,[r] instead of giving thanks for what they have, repine that others have more or better;[s] or for what they now have, complain that it is not with them as it hath been. These thoughts are enemies to the tranquillity of the mind, breeding many discontents and much unthankfulness, whilst our eyes are evil, because God is good to others, or hath been so to us. To remove this impediment, whoever desireth to be truly thankful, let him look upon his own things, and not on the things of other men,[t] and therein consider not so much what he wanteth and fain would have, as what he hath and could not well want. Let him think that what God hath given § 61. 2°. Envy. S. Matthew xx. 15.

[o] [Cautus sum, nec ingratus fore beneficio datae pacis, nec] sacrilegus invasor gloriae tuae. Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 13. [§. 4. tom. i. 1303 D. ed. Ben.]

[p] Prima namque superbiae soboles inanis est gloria, [quae dum oppressam mentem corruperit,] mox invidiam gignit. Gregor. xxxi. Mor. 31. [45. §. 89. tom. i. 1036 B. ed. Ben.]

[q] Non potest quisquam et invidere et gratias agere. Seneca, de Benef. iii. 3.

[r] Omnibus his vehementius et importunius malum Invidia, quae nos inquietat, dum comparat. Hoc mihi praestitit; sed illi plus, sed illi maturius. Seneca, de Benef. ii. 27, 28.

[s] Illis non tam jucundum est, multos post se videre, quam grave, aliquem ante se. Seneca, Epist. 73.

[t] Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο μέγα πρὸς εὐθυμίαν ἐστὶ, τὸ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν. Plutarch. de Tranquil. Anim. [§. 10. p. 470 B.] Nulli ad aliena respicienti, sua placent. Seneca, de Ira. iii. 30.

him came from His free bounty, He owed it not; and what He hath denied him, He withholdeth it either in His Justice for his former sins, or in His Mercy for his further good: that God giveth to no man all the desire of his heart in these outward things, to teach him not to look for absolute contentment in this life, least of all in these things. If he will needs look upon other men's things, let him compare himself rather with them that have less[u] than those that have more; and therein withal consider, not so much what himself wanteth which some others have, as what he hath which many others want.[x] If a few that enjoy God's blessings in these outward things in a greater measure than he be an eyesore to him, let those many others that have a scanter portion make him acknowledge that God hath dealt liberally and bountifully with him. We should do well to understand that saying of Christ not barely as a prediction, but as a kind of promise too, as I partly intimated before,[y] *the poor you shall always have with you;* and to think that every beggar that seeketh to us is sent of God, to be as well a glass wherein to represent God's bounty to us, as an object whereon for us to exercise ours. And, as for former times, let us not so much think how much better we have been, as how well we are: that we are not so well now, impute it to our former unthankfulness, and fear, unless we be more thankful for what we have, it will be yet and every day worse and worse with us. Counsel very needful for us in these declining times, which are not, God knoweth, and we all know, as the times we have seen: the leprous humour of Popery secretly stealing in upon us, and as a leprosy spreading apace under the skin, and penury and poverty, as an ulcerous sore, openly breaking out in the very face of the land. Should we murmur at this, or repiningly complain that it is not with us as it hath been? God forbid: that is the way to have it yet, and yet worse. Rather, let us humble ourselves for our former unthankfulness, whereby we

S. Matthew xxvi. 11.

[u] Quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber, Tabescat? neque se majori pauperiorum Turbae comparet? Horat. Sat. I. i. [110.] .... *εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους ἀποθεωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοί, πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἀντιπαρεξάγουσιν.* Plutarch. ubi supra.

[x] Nec ea intuemur, quae nos aliis praeposuere, sed ea sola quae fortuna praecedentium ostendat. Seneca, de Benef. iii. 3.

[y] See §. 49.

have provoked God to withdraw Himself in some measure from us; and bless Him for His great Mercy, who yet continueth His goodness in a comfortable and gracious measure unto us, notwithstanding our so great unworthiness and unthankfulness. Thousands of our brethren in the world, as good as ourselves, how glad would they be, how thankful to God, how would they rejoice and sing, if they enjoyed but a small part of that peace and prosperity in outward things, and of that liberty of treading in God's courts, and partaking of His Ordinances, which we make so little account of, because it is not every way as we have known it heretofore.*

§. 62. 3°. Riot.

62. The third impediment of Thankfulness is Riot and Epicurism, that which the Prophet reckoneth in the catalogue of Sodom's sins, *fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness.* This is both a cause and a sign of much unthankfulness. Πλησμονή and ἐπιλησμονή, fulness and forgetfulness, they are not more near in the sound of the words than they are in the sequel of the things. *When thou hast eaten, and art full, then beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God.* It much argueth that we make small account of the good creatures of God, if we will not so much as take a little pains to get them; but much more, if lavishly, and like prodigal fools, we make waste and havock of them. He that hath received some token from a dear friend, though perhaps of little value in itself and of less use to him, yet if he retain any grateful memory of his friend, he will value it the more,[z] and set greater store by it, and be the more careful to preserve it, for his friend's sake. But if he should make it away causelessly, and the rather because it came so easily, as the ding-thrift's † proverb is, 'Lightly come, lightly go,' every man would interpret it as an evidence of his unfriendly and unthankful heart. But riot is not only a sign, it is also a cause, of unthankfulness, in as much as it maketh us value the good things of God at too low a rate. For we usually value the worth of things proportionably to their use, judging them more or less good, according to the good they do us, be it more or less. And how then can the prodigal or riotous epicure, that consumeth the good

Ezek. xvi. 49.

Deut. viii. 10, 11.

* See above, §. 56.

[z] Quod non me movet aestimatione, Verum est mnemosynon mei sodalis. Catull. [xii. 12.]

† 'ding-thrift,' *a spendthrift.* See Sermon xiv. ad Aulam, §. 7.

creatures of God in so short a space and to so little purpose, set a just price upon them, seeing he reapeth so little good from them? A pound, that would do a poor man that taketh pains for his living a great deal of good, maintain him and his family for some weeks together, perhaps put him into fresh trading, set him up on his legs, and make him a man for ever, what good doth it to a prodigal gallant, that will set scores and hundreds of them flying at one afternoon's sitting in a gaminghouse? Shall any man make me believe, he valueth these good gifts of God as he should do, and as every truly thankful Christian man would desire to do, that in the powdering and perfuming of an excrement* that never grew from his own scalp, in the furnishing of a table for the pomp and luxury of a few hours, in making up a rich suit to case a rotten carcase in, in the pursuit of any other lustful vanity or delight, expendeth beyond the proportion of his revenue or condition, and the exigence of just occasions? To remedy this, whoever would be truly thankful, let him live in some honest vocation, and therein bestow himself faithfully and painfully, bind himself to sober, discreet, and moderate use of God's creatures; remember that Christ would not have the very broken meats lost; think that if for every word idly spoken, then, by the same proportion, for every penny idly spent, we shall be accountable to God at the day of Judgment.

§. 63. 4° Worldly Carefulness.

63. Immoderate care and solicitude for outward things is another impediment of Thankfulness.[a] Under which title I comprehend covetousness especially, but not only; ambition also, and voluptuousness, and every other vice that consisteth in a desire and expectation of something for the future.[b] Which desire and expectation, if inordinate, must needs in the end

* Bp. Hall, Quo Vadis? sect. 20. 'Whence the frizzled and powdered bushes of their borrowed excrement?' Cf. Comedy of Errors, ii. 2. (hair.) Love's Labour's Lost, v. 1. 'Dally with my excrement, my mustachio.' Winter's Tale, iv. 3. 'Let me pocket up my pedlar's excrement,' (i. e. beard.) False hair is mentioned among matters of Pride, Sermon x. ad Aulam, §. 27.

[a] Non patitur aviditas quenquam esse gratum. Seneca de Benef. ii. 27. ..nec ullum habet malum cupiditas majus, quam quod ingrata est. Id. Epist. 73.

[b] Novis semper cupiditatibus occupati, non quid habeamus, sed quid petamus, inspicimus. ... Quicquid enim domi est, vile est. Sequitur autem, ut ubi quod acceperis leve novorum cupiditas fecerit, auctor quoque eorum non sit in pretio. .... ..ideoque caduca memoria est, futuro imminentium. Id. de Benef. iii. 3.

determine in unthankfulness. For the very true reason why we desire things inordinately, is, because we promise to ourselves more comfort and content from them than they are able to give us; this being ever our error, when we have any thing in chace, to sever the good which we hope from it from the inconveniences that go therewith, and, looking only upon that, never so much as to think of these. But having obtained the thing we desired, we find the one as well as the other; and then the inconveniences we never thought of before abateth* much of the weight and the price we formerly set thereupon,[c] and taketh off so much from the estimation we had of the good: whereby it cometh to pass, that by how much we overvalued it in the pursuit, by so much we undervalue it in the possession. And so, instead of giving thanks to God for the good we have received, we complain of the inconveniences that adhere thereunto, and so much underprize it as it falleth short of our expectation; and look, how far we do underprize it, so far are we unthankful for it. To remove this impediment, whoever would be thankful, let him moderate his desires after these outward things, forecast as well the inconveniences that follow them as the commodities they bring with them, lay the one against the other, and prepare as well to digest the one as to enjoy the other.

§. 64. 5°. Delay.

64. The last impediment of Thankfulness is Carnal Security, joined ever with delays and procrastinations. When we receive any thing from God, we know we should give Him thanks for it, and, it may be, we think of doing such a thing; but we think withal another day will serve the turn, and so we put it off for the present, and so forwards from time to time, till in the end we have quite forgotten both His benefit and our own duty, and never perform any thing at all. My Text doth after a sort meet with this corruption; for here the Apostle saith, the creature should be *received with thanksgiving*, as if the thanks should go with the receipt, the receipt and the thanks both together.[d] To remove this impediment, consider,

* 'the inconveniences . . abateth.' Compare the opening of §. 4. Sermon iv. ad Magistr.

[c] Nihil aeque adeptis, et concupiscentibus gratum. Plin. [Epist. ii. 15. Nihil enim aeque gratum est adeptis quam concupiscentibus.]

[d] Qui gratus futurus est, statim, dum accipit, de reddendo cogitat. Seneca, de Benef. ii. 25.

how in every thing delays are hurtful and dangerous; how our affections are best and hottest at the first, and do in process of time insensibly deaden, and at last die, if we do not take the opportunity, and strike, as we say, whilst the iron is hot; how that, if pretensions of other businesses or occasions may serve the turn to put off the tendering of our devotions and rendering of our thanks to God, the devil will be sure to suggest enow of these pretensions into our heads, and to prompt us continually with such allegations, that we shall seldom or never be at leisure to serve God and to give Him thanks.

§. 65. The fourth Inference; and the Conclusion of all.

65. Let us remember these five impediments, and beware of them, Pride, Envy, Epicurism, Worldly Carefulness, and Delay. All which are best remedied by their contraries. Good helps therefore unto Thankfulness are, 1°. Humility, and Self-denial; 2°. Contentedness, and Self-sufficiency. 3°. Painfulness, and Sobriety. 4°. The Moderation of our desires after earthly things. 5°. Speed and Maturity. And so much for this third Inference of Direction.]* I should also have desired, if the time would have permitted, although my Text speaketh of our Thanksgiving unto God precisely as it respecteth the creature, yet to have improved it a little further by a fourth Inference: that if we be thus bound to give God thanks for these outward blessings, how much more ought we then to abound in all

Eph. i. 3. thankfulness unto Him for His manifold *spiritual blessings in heavenly things in Christ*, for Grace and Election, for Mercy and Redemption, for Faith and Justification, for Obedience and Sanctification, for Hope and Glorification. If we ought

S. Matt. vi. 11. S. Matt. xv. 17. to pray for, and to give thanks for *our daily bread*, which nourisheth but our bodies, and then is cast into the draught, and both it and our bodies perish, how much more for that

S. John vi. 51. *bread of life which came down from Heaven*, and feedeth our souls unto eternal life, and neither they nor it can perish. If we must say for that, *Give us this day our daily bread*, shall

S. John vi. 34. we not much more say for this, *Lord, evermore give us this bread?* But I have done. Beseech we now Almighty God, to guide us all with such holy discretion and wisdom in the free use of His good creatures, that, keeping ourselves within the

* See the beginning of §. 60.

due bounds of Sobriety, Charity, and civil Duty, we may in all things glorify God, and, above all things, and for all things, give *thanks always unto God and the Father in the Name* Eph. v. 20. *of our Lord Jesus Christ.* To which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Son of God, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, three Persons, and one only wise, gracious, and everliving God, be ascribed, as is most due, by us and His whole Church, all the kingdom, the power, and the glory, both now and for evermore. Amen. Amen.

SERMON VI.

AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS, LONDON, APRIL 15, 1627.*

GENESIS XX. 6.

And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thine heart: for I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.

§. 1. The Occasion,

FOR our more profitable understanding of which words, it is needful we should have in remembrance the whole story of this present chapter, of which story these words are a part. And thus it was. Abraham cometh, with Sarah his wife and their family, as a stranger, to sojourn among the Philistines in Gerar; covenanteth with her beforehand, thinking thereby to provide for his own safety, because she was beautiful, that they should not be to know that they were any more than brother and sister. Abimelech, King of the place, heareth of their coming, and of her beauty; sendeth for them both, inquireth whence and who they were, heareth no more from them but that she was his sister; dismisseth him, taketh her into his house. Hereupon God plagueth him and his house with a strange visitation, threateneth him also with death, giveth him to understand that all this was for taking another man's wife. He answereth for himself: God replieth. The answer is in the two next former verses: the reply in this and the next following verse.

§. 2. Scope,

2. His answer is by way of apology: he pleadeth, first, ignorance; and then, and thence, his innocence. *And he said, Lord, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation? Said not he unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself, said, He is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this.* That is his plea. Now God replieth: of which reply, letting pass the remainder in the next verse, which concerneth the time to come, so much of it

* The year was not specified in the first Edition.

as is contained in this verse hath reference to what was already done and past; and it meeteth right with Abimelech's answer. Something he had done, and something he had not done: he had indeed taken Sarah into his house, but he had not yet come near her. For that which he had done, in taking her, he thought he had a just excuse, and he pleadeth it: he did not know her to be another man's wife; and therefore, as to any intent of doing wrong to the husband, he was altogether innocent. But for that which he had not done, in not touching her, because he took her into his house with an unchaste purpose, he passeth that over in silence, and not so much as mentioneth it. So that his answer, so far as it reached, was just; but, because it reached not home, it was not full. And now Almighty God fitteth it with a reply most convenient for such an answer, admitting his plea, so far as he alleged it, for what he had done in taking Abraham's wife, having done it simply out of ignorance: *Yea, I know thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart;* and withal supplying that which Abimelech had omitted, for what he had not done, in not touching her, by assigning the true cause thereof, viz. His powerful restraint: *For I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.*

Verse 2. Verse 4.

§. 3. and Division of the Text.

3. In the whole verse we may observe, First, the manner of the revelation, namely, by what means it pleased God to convey to Abimelech the knowledge of so much of His Will as He thought good to acquaint him withal: it was even the same whereby He had given him the first information, at verse 3: it was by a dream: *And God said unto him in a dream;* and then, after, the substance of the reply, whereof, again, the general parts are two. The former, an admission of Abimelech's plea, or an acknowledgment of the integrity of his heart, so far as he alleged it, in that which he had done: *Yea, I know that thou didst it in the integrity of thine heart.* The latter, an instruction or advertisement to Abimelech, to take knowledge of God's goodness unto and providence with him, in that which he had not done: it was God that over-held* him from doing it: *for I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.*

* 'over-held.' So in the fourth and subsequent Editions. Previously 'withheld.'

§. 4. The Nature and Use of Dreams &c.

4. By occasion of those first words of the Text, *And God said unto him in a dream*, if we should enter into some inquiries concerning the nature and use of divine revelations in general, and in particular of dreams, the discourse, as it would not be wholly impertinent, so neither altogether unprofitable. Concerning all which these several conclusions might be easily made good. First, that God revealed Himself and His will frequently in old times, especially before the sealing of the Scripture-Canon, in sundry manners:[a] as by visions, prophecies, extasies, oracles, and other supernatural means, and namely, and among the rest, by dreams.[b] Secondly, that God imparted His Will by such kind of supernatural revelations, not only to the godly and faithful, though to them most frequently and especially, but sometimes also to hypocrites within the Church, as to Saul and others: yea, and sometimes even to infidels too out of the Church, as to Pharaoh, Balaam, Nebuchadnezzar, &c, and here to Abimelech. Thirdly, that since the writings of the Prophets and Apostles were made up, the Scripture-Canon sealed, and the Christian Church by the preaching of the Gospel become oecumenical, dreams and other supernatural revelations, as also other things of like nature, as miracles, and whatsoever more immediate and extraordinary manifestations of the Will and Power of God, have ceased to be of ordinary and familiar use, so as now we ought rather to suspect delusion in them than to expect direction from them. Fourthly, that although God have now tied us to His Holy written Word as unto a perpetual infallible rule, beyond which we may not expect, and against which we may not admit, any other direction as from God, yet He hath no where abridged Himself of the power and liberty, even still to intimate unto the sons of men the knowledge of His will and the glory of His might, by dreams, miracles, or other like supernatural manifestations, if at any time, either in the want of the ordinary means of the Word, Sacraments, and Ministry, or for the present necessities of His Church, or of some part thereof, or for some other just cause, perhaps unknown to us, He shall see it expedient so to do. He hath prescribed us; but He hath not limited Himself. Fifthly, that because the

Num. xii. 6. Joel ii. 28. Job xxxiii. 14–16. 1 Sam. x. 10. Gen. xli. 25, 28. Num. xxiv. 2–4, 16. Dan. ii. 28, 45. Is. viii. 20.

[a] πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. Heb. i. 1.

[b] καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι. Homer. Il. i. 63.

devil and wicked spirits may suggest dreams, probably foretell future events foreseen in their causes, and work many strange effects in nature, *applicando activa passivis*, which, because they are without the sphere of our comprehension, may to our seeming have fair appearances of Divine revelations or miracles, when they are nothing less, for the avoiding of strong delusions in this kind, it is not safe for us to give easy credit to dreams, prophecies, or miracles, as Divine, until upon due trial there shall appear, both in the end whereto they point us, a direct tendence to the advancement of God's glory, and in the means also they propose us, a conformity unto the revealed Will of God in His written Word. Sixthly, that so to observe our ordinary dreams as thereby to divine or foretell of future contingents,[c] or to forecast therefrom good or ill luck, as we call it, in the success of our affairs, is a silly and groundless, but withal an unwarranted, and therefore an unlawful, and therefore also a damnable superstition. Seventhly, that there is yet to be made a lawful, yea, and a very profitable use, even of our ordinary dreams, and of the observing thereof; and that both in Physic and Divinity. Not at all by foretelling particulars of things to come; but by taking from them, among other things, some reasonable conjectures, in the general, of the present estate both of our bodies and souls. Of our bodies first. For since the predominancy of choler, blood, phlegm, and melancholy,[d] as also the differences of strength,

See Deut. xiii. 1, &c.

[c] Contra Oneirocriticos, See Aquinas, Sec. Sec. Quaest. 95. art. 6. [Utrum Divinatio, quae fit per somnia, sit illicita. Sic ergo dicendum, quod si quis utatur somniis ad praecognoscenda futura, secundum quod somnia procedunt ex revelatione divina, vel ex causa naturali intrinseca, sive extrinseca, quantum potest se virtus talis extendere, non erit illicita divinatio. Si autem hujusmodi divinatio causetur ex revelatione daemonum, cum quibus pacta habentur expressa, quia ad hoc invocantur, vel tacita, quia hujusmodi divinatio extenditur ad quod se non potest extendere, erit divinatio illicita et superstitiosa. Et per hoc patet responsio ad objecta.] Johannes Saresberiensis, Policraticus, [sive de Nugis Curialium, ii.] 17. [Quisquis enim somniorum sequitur vanitatem, parum in Lege Dei vigilans est; et dum fidei facit dispendium, perniciosissime dormit. p. 79. Lugd. Bat. 1639. The Writer died, Bishop of Chartres, in 1182.] Petrus Blesensis, Epist. 65. [Sit igitur sententia Christiani, nihil de futuris inquirere, sed Illius dispositioni humiliter obedire qui disponit omnia suaviter, cujus consiliarius nemo fuit ..... Ut fidem habeam somniis, nulla somnia me inducent. Non inficior, quin anima frequenter ex reliquiis cogitationis, aut ex innata sibi perspicacia, quasdam futurorum praefiguret imagines; sed crebro decipitur.]

[d] Secundum morum et humorum

and health, and diseases, and distempers,[e] either by diet or passion or otherwise, do cause impressions of different forms in the fancy, our ordinary dreams may be a good help to lead us into those discoveries,[f] both in time of health, what our natural constitution, complexion, and temperature is, and in times of sickness, from the rankness and tyranny of which of the humours the malady springeth. And as of our bodies, so of our souls too. For since our dreams, for the most part, look the same way which our freest thoughts incline,[g] as the voluptuous beast dreameth most of pleasures, the covetous wretch most of profits, and the proud or ambitious most of praises, preferments, or revenge, the observing of our ordinary dreams may be of good use for us unto that discovery, which of these three is our master sin; for unto one of the three every other sin is reduced: *the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life.*

1 S. John iii. 16.

§. 5. The first part of God's Reply.

5. But concerning revelations and dreams, it shall suffice to have only proposed these few conclusions without further enlargement: the manner of God's revealing His Will here to Abimelech, by dream, being but an incidental circumstance upon the bye, and not belonging to the main of the present story. We will therefore, without more ado, proceed to the substance of God's reply, in the rest of the verse; and therein begin with the former general part, which is God's admission of Abimelech's plea and apology for himself. [The ground of whose plea was ignorance, and the thing he pleaded, his own

varietates, variantur somnia. Alia namque vident sanguinei, alia cholerici, alia phlegmatici, alia melancholici. Auctor. de Spir. et Anim. cap. 25. ap. Augustin. tom. 3. [vi. in App. 45 B. ed. Ben. Paris.]

[e] Juxta etiam infirmitatum diversitates, diversa accidunt somnia. ibid.

[f] Λέγουσι γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ χαρίεντες, ὅτι δεῖ σφόδρα προσέχειν τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις. Arist. cap. 1. [7.] de Divinat. ex Insomniis.

[g] *A dream cometh through the multitude of business,* Eccles. v. 3. Res, quas in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, Quaeque agunt vigilantes, agitantque, ea si cui in somnis accidant, minus mirum est. Aretius. [? de Spectris. loc. 146. S.S. Theologiae Problem. p. 437. quae offerunt se naturalibus rationibus, qualia sunt ex complexionibus orta: aut ex professione, genere vitae, studiis ac occupationibus. Sic miles arma, Venator retia, studiosus somniat: sic piscator Theocriti inquit, πᾶσα κύων ἄρτους ματύεται, ἴχθυα κἀγώ.]

Quaecunque mentis agitat infestus vigor,
Ea per quietem sacer et arcanus refert
Veloxque sensus.

Seneca in Octav. act. iv. [740.] See Delr. ibid. [M.A. Delrii Syntagma Tragoediae Latinae, ii. 310. and iii. 550.]

innocency and the integrity of his heart; and God, who is the searcher of all hearts, alloweth the allegation, and acknowledgeth that integrity,] *Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart.*

§. 6. The Explication of the Words.

6. The original word, here translated *integrity*,[h] is rendered by some *truth*,[i] by others *purity*,[k] and by others *simplicity*;[l] and it will bear them all, as signifying properly perfection or innocence.[m] You would think, by that word, that Abimelech had in this whole business walked in the sight of God with a pure, and upright, and true, and single, and perfect heart. But alas, he was far from that. God plagued him and his for that he had done; and God doth not use to punish the carcase for that wherein the heart is single. Again, God withheld him, or else he would have done more and worse; and it is a poor perfection of heart, where the active power only is restrained, and not the inward corruption subdued. Besides, Sarah was taken into the house, and there kept for lewd purposes; and how can truth and purity of heart consist with a continued resolution of sinful uncleanness? Abimelech then cannot be defended as truly and absolutely innocent, though he plead innocency, and God Himself bear witness to the integrity of his heart. For had his heart been upright in him and sincere, in this very matter of Sarah, he would never have taken her into his house at all, as he did. But that he pleadeth for himself is, that, in this particular wherewith it seemed to him God by so threatening him did charge him, in wronging Abraham by taking his wife from him, his conscience could witness the innocency of his heart, how free he was from any the least injurious purpose or so much as thought, that way. It was told him by them both, that she was his sister; and he knew no other by her* than so, when he took her into his house, supposing her to be a single woman: if he had known she had been any man's wife, he would not, for any good, have done the man so foul an injury, nor have sinned against his own

Ver. 17, 18.

[h] בתם.

[i] בקשׁשׁת. Targ. Chald.

[k] *ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ.* Lxx.

[l] *Simplici corde.* Vulgat.

[m] In the perfection of thy heart. H.[enry] A.[insworth, in Annotations upon the Five Books of Moses, &c. See below, §. 29.]

* 'by her,' *of, concerning her*, as below, §. 16. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Pilgrim, ii. 1. 'For what you have seen hitherto, And know by me;' and Shakspeare, Cymbeline, iv. 2.

soul, by defiling another's bed. In the integrity of his heart and innocency of his hands he did what he had done. This is the substance of his allegation; and God approveth the integrity of his heart so far: viz. as free in this particular from any intent, either to injure Abraham, or to sin against the light of his own Conscience, by committing adultery with another's wife.

§. 7. Observation I. The grievousness of the Sin of Adultery.

7. The meaning of the words thus cleared, we may observe in them three things. First, the fact for which Abimelech pleadeth; and that was the taking of Sarah, who was another's wife, into his house. Secondly, the ground of his plea; and that was his ignorance: he knew not, when he took her, that she was another's wife. Thirdly, the thing he pleadeth upon that ground; and that was his innocency and the integrity of his heart. Each of these three will afford us some observable instruction for our use. And the first thing we will insist upon from these words shall be, the grievousness of the sin of adultery, hateful even in the judgment of those men who made small or no conscience at all of fornication. See how this is raised from the Text. Abimelech's heart never smote him for taking Sarah into his house, so long as he supposed her to be but a single woman: led with the common blindness and custom of the Gentiles, he either knew not, or considered not, that such fornication, though in a King, was a sin. But the very frame of his apology showeth, that if he had known her to be another man's wife, and yet had taken her, he could not then have pretended the integrity of his heart and the innocency of his hands, as now he doth, and God alloweth it; but he should have been *αὐτοκατάκριτος*: his own heart would have condemned him for it, and he should therein have sinned grossly against the light of his own conscience.

§. 8. Fornication a deadly Sin. Ps. cxix. 105.

8. It cannot be doubtful to us, who, by the good blessing of God upon us, have His Holy Word to be *a light unto our feet and a lanthorn unto our paths*, from the evidence whereof we may receive more perfect and certain information than they could have from the glimmering light of depraved nature, I say, it cannot be doubtful to us, but that all fornication, how simple soever, is a sin foul and odious in the sight of God, and deadly to the committer. As, first, being opposite directly to that holiness and honour and sanctification which God pre-

1 Thess. iv. 3, 4.

scribeth in His will. Secondly, causing usually consumption of estate, rottenness of bones, and loss of good name. Thirdly, stealing away the heart of those that are once ensnared therewith, and bewitching them even unto perdition, in such powerful sort, that it is seldom seen, a man once brought under by this sin, to recover himself again, and to get the victory over it. Fourthly, putting over the guilty to the severe immediate judgment of God Himself, who for this sin slew of the Israelites in one day twenty-three or twenty-four thousand.* And having, fifthly, one singular deformity above all other sins in all other kinds, that it is a direct sin against a man's own body; in depriving it, by making it the instrument of filthiness and the members of an harlot, of that honour whereunto God had ordained it, to be a member of Christ, and *the temple of the Holy Ghost.*

Prov. v. 10; vi. 26. Job xxxi. 12. Prov. v. 11. vi. 33. vii. 22, 23. Hos. iv. 11. Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. x. 8. Num. xxv. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 18. Verse 15. Verse 19.

9. But yet of this foul sin the Gentiles made no reckoning. So long as they abstained from married persons,[n] it never troubled their consciences to defile themselves with those that were single by fornication, because they esteemed it either as no sin, or as one of the least. It was not only the fond speech of an indulgent and doting old father in the excuse of his licentious son in the Comedy, *Non est flagitium, mihi crede, adolescentulum scortari,*[o] (and yet he spake but as the generality of them thought,) but it was the serious plea also of the grave Roman Orator, in the behalf of his client, in open court, before the severity of the sage and reverend bench of Judges: *Quando enim hoc factum non est? quando reprehensum? quando non permissum?* and, *Datur omnium concessu,* &c.[p] *Not in the lust of concupiscence,* saith St. Paul, *as the Gentiles which*

§. 9. yet excused by some; 1 Thess. iv. 5.

* The explanation usually given of this discrepancy is that St. Paul's reference to the history specifies those who perished by the Pestilence, whereas the original account comprehends also the heads of the people who were hanged up before the Lord, and those who were slain by the judges of Israel. Numb. xxv. 4, 5. See Sanderson's own note on Sermon iii. ad Mag. §. 8.

[n] Viri licito se errare credunt, si solo se abstineant adulterio; meritricios autem usus tanquam legi naturae suppetere putant. Ambrosius de Abraham. ii. [tom. i. col. 348 B. ed. Bened.] ... Solo stupro atque adulterio condemnato, passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido permittitur. Hieron. Epist. 30. [77. tom. i. 455 A. ed. Vallars.] ... in usu scortorum, quam terrena civitas licitam turpitudinem fecit. Augustin. de Civ. Dei. xiv. 18. [tom. vii. 369 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685.]

[o] Mitio apud Terent. in Adelph. I. ii. [21.]

[p] Cicero pro Coelio. [48.]

know not God. An error, so universally spread, and so deeply rooted in the minds and in the lives of the Gentiles, who, *having their understanding darkened through the ignorance that was in them, because of the blindness of their hearts, wrought* such *uncleanness* not only without remorse, but even with greediness, that the Apostles had much ado with those men whom, by the preaching of the Gospel, they had converted from Gentilism to Christianity, before they could reclaim them from an error so inveterate both in the judgment and practice. St. Paul therefore, as it both became and concerned him, being the Apostle and Doctor of the Gentiles, often toucheth upon this string in his Epistles written unto the Churches of the Gentiles. But no where doth he set himself more fully and directly, with much evidence of reason and strength of argument, against this sin and error, than in the first Epistle he wrote to the Corinthians, because among them this sin was both itself most rife in the practice, the Corinthians being notedly infamous for lust and wantonness;[q] and it was also as much slighted there as any where:[r] many of them thinking that the body was made for fornication as the belly for meats,[s] and that fornication was as fit and convenient for the body as meats for the belly. Out of which consideration, the Apostles, in that first General Council holden at Jerusalem, thought it needful by Ecclesiastical Canon, among some other indifferent things for the Church's peace, to lay this restraint upon the converted Gentiles, that they should abstain from fornication. Not as if fornication were in itself an indifferent thing, as those other things were; not as if those other things were in themselves and simply unlawful, as fornication

Eph. iv. 18, 19.

Rom. xi. 13. Gal. ii. 7. 1 Tim. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 11.

As Rom. i. 29. xiii. 13. 2 Cor. xii. 21. Gal. v. 19. Eph. iv. 19. v. 3, &c. Col. iii. 5. 1 Thess. iv. 3, &c. 1 Cor. v. 1, 9–11; vi. 9, 13–18. vii. 1, 2. x. 8.

Acts xv. 28, 29.

[q] Hinc Κορινθιάζειν pro scortari. Hadr. Junius in Adag. [apud Erasm. Chiliad. p. 1046. Francof. 1699.] et ἑταίρας Κορινθίας habet Aristoph. in Pluto. Act. 1. Sc. 2. [149.] Quas supra mille prostare ad fanum Veneris quod est in Corintho scribit Strabo, Geograph. viii. Atque hinc natam paroemiam, Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. [tom. i. 549. ed. Falconer.] οἵπερ [Corinthii scil.] κακῶς ἀκούουσιν καὶ διαβάλλονται ἐπὶ τῇ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀμετρίᾳ περὶ τὰς αἰσχίστας ἡδονάς. Bourdin. in Comment. ad Aristoph. Thesmoph. [655.]

[r] Libidinis erat, quae nusquam gentium regnabat impunitius quam Corinthi... Erasm. Paraphras. in 1 Cor. in Argum. [Opp. tom. vii. 857. Lugd. Bat. 1607.]

[s] [De cibis nihil veto, vescatur quisque quibus velit, foedam libidinem interdico. Neque enim ut venter escis dedicatus est, ita corpus dicatum est spurcae libidini. Paraphr. in 1 Cor. vi. 1. ibid. 877 A.]

was; but the Apostles did therefore join fornication* and those other indifferent things together in the same Canon, because the Gentiles accounted fornication a thing as indifferent as what was most indifferent. Some remainders of the common error there were, it seemeth, among some Christians in S. Augustine's days, who both relateth the opinion, and confuteth it.[t] And some in the Popish Church have not come far behind herein: so many of them, I mean, as hold that simple fornication is not intrinsically, and in the proper nature of it, a sin against the Law of nature, but only made such by Divine positive Law.[u] A strange thing it is, and to my seeming not less than a mystery,[x] that those men that speak so harshly of marriage, which God hath ordained, should withal speak so favourably of fornication, which God hath forbidden, preposterously preferring the disease which springeth from our corruption, before the remedy which God Himself hath prescribed in His Word. 1 Cor. vii. 2. But howsoever, if some Christians have spoken and written and thought so favourably of fornication, as to their shame it appeareth they have done, the less may we marvel to see Abimelech, a King and an infidel, allow himself the liberty to continue in the sin of fornication,[y] and yet, notwithstanding such allowance, stand so much upon his own innocency and integrity as he doth.

10. God forbid any man that heareth me this day should be so either ignorant or uncharitable, as to conceive all, or any of that I have yet said, spoken to give the least shadow of liberty or excuse to fornication or any uncleanness, which St. Paul would not have so much as named among the Saints,— Eph. v. 3. not named with allowance, not named with any extenuation, §. 10. but not Adultery by any.

* Compare Sermon v. §. 29.

[t] ... quod aliquando qui committunt, nescio qua perversitate contemnunt; et nescio unde sibi testimonia nulla et vana conquirunt, dicentes, Peccata carnis Deus non curat. Augustin, Serm. 16. de Verb. Domini. [Serm. 82. tom. v. 445 A. ed. Ben. Paris. 1683.] Ista punienda et nimium gravia mala, ideo a multis viris sine ullo timore Domini committuntur, quia ita a pluribus in consuetudinem missa sunt, et ita vilia vel levia ducuntur, ut nec jam inter gravia crimina putentur. Serm. de Temp. 143. [Omne peccatum consuetudine vilescit, et fit homini quasi nullum sit. Serm. xvii. 3. V. 95. ed. Ben. Paris.]

[u] Durandus [de S. Porciano] iv. Distinct. 33. Quaest. 2. [Utrum fornicatio simplex sit peccatum mortale.] et alii.

[x] *Mysterium iniquitatis.* 2 Thess. ii. 7.

[y] Understand that, in this passage concerning Abimelech, I use the word fornication, as it doth include *concubinatum* also.

not named but with some detestation. But the very thing for which I have spoken all this, is to show how inexcusable the adulterer is: when even those of the Gentiles, who, by reason
Eph. iv. 18. of the darkness of their understandings and the want of Scripture-light, could espy no obliquity in fornication, could yet, through all that darkness, see something in adultery deservedly punishable, even in their judgments, with death. They could not so far quench that spark [z] of the light of nature
Rom. i. 18. which was in them, nor hold back the truth of God in unrighteousness, as not, by the glimpse thereof, to discern a kind of reverend majesty in God's holy ordinance of wedlock, which
Heb. xiii. 4. they knew might not be dishonoured, nor the bed defiled by adultery, without guilt. They saw adultery was a mixt crime, and such as carried with it the face of injustice as well as uncleanness, nor could be committed by the two offending parties without wrong done to a third. And therefore if any thing might be said colourably to excuse fornication, as there can be nothing said justly, yet if any such thing could be said for fornication, it would not reach to excuse adultery, because of the injury that cleaveth thereunto. Against fornication God
1 Cor. vii. 2. hath ordained marriage as a remedy: what a beast then is the adulterer, and what a monster, whom that remedy doth no good upon! In the marriage knot there is some expression and representation of the Love-covenant betwixt Christ and
Eph. v. 23. His Church; but what good assurance can the adulterer have that he is within that covenant, when he breaketh this knot? Every married person hath *ipso facto* surrendered up the
1 Cor. vii. 4. right and interest he had in and over his own body, and put it out of his own into the power of another: what an arrant thief then is the adulterer, that taketh upon him to dispose at his pleasure that which is none of his! But I say too well by him, when I compare him but to a thief: Solomon maketh him worse than a thief. *Men do not despise a thief if he steal to satisfy his soul, when he is hungry; . . . . . But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he*
Prov. vi. 30–32. *that doth it destroyeth his own soul.* Where he maketh both the injury greater, and the reconcilement harder, in and for

[z] ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἡμῖν σπινθῆρα. Basil. [? in Esai. i. 31. tom. i. 426 A. Append. ed. Ben. σπινθὴρ . . . νῦν μὲν ὡς ἐν σποδιᾷ κεκαλυμμένος, καθόσον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς σκεπασμάτων περικαλύπτεται.]

the adulterer than for the thief. Nay, God Himself maketh him worse than a thief in His Law: in His Moral Law, next after murder placing adultery before theft, as the greater sin; and in His Judicial Law, punishing theft with a mulct, but adultery with death, the greater punishment. To conclude this first point, Abimelech, an Heathen man, who had not the knowledge of the true God of Heaven to direct him in the right way, and withal a King, who had therefore none upon earth above him to control him if he should transgress, would yet have abhorred to have defiled himself knowingly by adultery with another man's wife, although the man were but a stranger, and the woman exceeding beautiful. Certainly Abimelech shall one day rise up in judgment, and condemn thy filthiness and injustice, whosoever thou art, that committest or causest another to commit adultery: *who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which do such things are worthy of death*, either *doest the same things* thyself, or *hast pleasure in them that do them*, or being in place and office to punish incontinent persons, by easy commutations of public penance for a private pecuniary mulct,* dost at once both beguilty thine own conscience with sordid bribery, and embolden the adulterer to commit that sin again without fear, from which he hath once escaped without shame, or so much as valuable loss.

Exod. xx. 13–15. xxii. 1, &c. Lev. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22.

Rom. i. 32.

§. 11. Observation II. How far Ignorance doth or doth not excuse from Sin.

11. And thus much for the first Observation. The next thing we shall observe from God's approving of Abimelech's answer and acknowledgment of the integrity of his heart, is, that some ignorance hath the weight of a just excuse. For we noted before, that ignorance was the ground of his plea. He had indeed taken Sarah into his house, who was another man's wife; but he hopeth that should not be imputed to him as a fault, because he knew not she was a married woman, the parties themselves, upon inquiry, having informed him other-

* The Reformatio Legum, Tit. de Poenis Ecclesiasticis, cap. xi. allowed pecuniary commutation of Penance only in the case of a first offence, and stipulated that the payment should be made by the offender in person, on some Holy Day, during the time of Divine Service, and in the presence of the Church Wardens.

The fourteenth of the Canons of 1640 ruled that no Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, shall have power to commute any penance, in whole or in part, but either together with the Bishop in person or with his privity in writing; &c.

wise. And therefore he appealeth to God Himself, the trier and judger of men's hearts, whether he were not innocent in this matter; and God giveth sentence with him: *Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart.* Where, you see, his Ignorance is allowed for a sufficient excuse.

§. 12. Sins of Ignorance the least Sins.

12. For our clearer understanding of which point, that I may not wade further into that great question, so much mooted among Divines, than is pertinent to this story of Abimelech, and may be useful for us thence, viz. whether or no, or how far, ignorance and error may excuse or lessen sinful actions proceeding therefrom, in point of conscience, let us first lay down one general, certain, and fundamental ground, whereupon, indeed, dependeth especially the resolution of almost all those difficulties that may occur in this and many other like Questions. And that is this. It is a condition so essential to every sin to be voluntary, that, all other circumstances and respects laid aside, every sin is simply and absolutely by so much greater or lesser by how much it is more or less voluntary. For, whereas there are in the reasonable soul three prime faculties from whence all human actions flow, the Understanding, the Will, and the sensual appetite or Affections, all of these concur indeed to every action properly human; yet so, as the Will carrieth the greatest sway, and is therefore the justest measure of the moral goodness or badness thereof. In any of the three there may be a fault, all of them being depraved in the state of corrupt nature; and the very truth is, there is in every sin, every complete sin, a fault in every of the three. And therefore all sins, by reason of the blindness of the Understanding, may be called ignorances; and, by reason of the impotency of the Affections, infirmities; and, by reason of the perverseness of the Will, rebellions.* But, for the most part, it falleth out so that although all the three be faulty, yet the obliquity of the sinful action springeth most immediately and chiefly from the special default of some one or other of the three. If the main defect be in the Understanding, not apprehending that good it should, or not aright, the sin arising from such defect we call more properly a sin of ignorance. If the main defect be in the Affections, some

* Compare, on this threefold Distribution of Sins, Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 13.

passion blinding or corrupting the judgment, the sin arising from such defect we call a sin of Infirmity. If the main defect be in the Will with perverse resolution bent upon any evil, the sin arising from such wilfulness we call a rebellion, or a sin of presumption. And, certainly, these sins of presumption are the greatest of the three,[a] because the wilfullest; and those of ignorance the least, because there is in them the least disorder of the Will, which doth its office, in some measure, in following the guidance of the Understanding; the greater fault being rather in the Understanding, for misguiding it. And of sins of ignorance, compared one with another, that is ever the least, wherein the defect is greater in the Understanding, and in the Will less.

§. 13. A Distinction of Ignorance.

13. From this principle do issue sundry material conclusions; and namely, amongst many other, most pertinently to our purpose, these two. The one, that all error and ignorance doth not always and wholly excuse from sin. The other, that yet some kind of ignorance and error doth excuse from sin, sometimes wholly, but very often at least in part. The whole truth of both these conclusions we may see in this one action of Abimelech, in taking Sarah into his house. In him there was a twofold error, and thence also a twofold ignorance. The one was an error *in universali, ignorantia juris*, as they call it, concerning the nature of fornication; which, being an heinous sin, he took to be either none at all, or a very small one. The other was an error *in particulari, ignorantia facti*, concerning the personal condition and relation of Sarah to Abraham, whose sister he thought her to be, and not wife, though she were both.

§. 14. The former Ignorance did not excuse Abimelech wholly,

14. That former ignorance, *ignorantia juris*, in Abimelech, was in some degree voluntary. For Abimelech had in him the common principles of the Law of Nature, by the light whereof, if he had been careful to have improved it, but even so far as

[a] Et gravius quidem infirmitate quam ignorantia, sed multo gravius studio quam infirmitate peccatur. De Poenit. d. 3. ex Gregor. [These words occur in xxv. 16. of the Expos. Moral. in Job. Sanderson's reference seems rather to point to a parallel passage in the Expositio in Sept. Psalm. Poenit. Ps. xxxviii. 12. Tribus namque modis peccatum admittitur. Aut ignorantia incurritur, aut infirmitate committitur, aut studio perpetratur. Sed sicut gravius est infirmitate quam ignorantia delinquere, ita pejus est studio quam infirmitate peccare. tom. iii. col. 489 A. ed. Bened.]

right reason might have led a prudent and dispassionate natural man, he might have discerned in the most simple fornication such incongruity with those principles, as might have sufficiently convinced him of the unlawfulness thereof. It is presumed, that all ignorance of that which a man is bound to know, and may know if he be not wanting to himself, is so far forth wilful. Now Abimelech was bound to know, that all carnal knowledge of man and woman out of the state of wedlock was simply unlawful; and so much, if he had not been wanting to himself in the use of his Naturals, he might have known; and therefore it was a kind of wilful ignorance in him, in some degree, that he did not know it. And therefore, further, he cannot be wholly excused from sin, in taking Sarah, notwithstanding both that and his other ignorance; for, although he did not know her to be Abraham's wife, yet he knew well enough she was not his own wife; and being not so to him, whatsoever she was to Abraham it skilled not, he should certainly not have taken her.* To plead ignorance, that he knew not fornication to be a sin, would little help him in this case. For men must know they stand answerable unto God for their actions, not merely according to the present knowledge they actually have, but according to the knowledge which they ought and might to have had, those means considered which He had afforded them of knowledge. Those means, even where they are scantest, being ever sufficient, at the least thus far, εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀναπολογήτους, as the Apostle speaketh, to leave the transgressor without excuse, and to make void all pretensions of Ignorance.

Rom. i. 20.

§. 15. but only in part:

15. That error then did not wholly excuse Abimelech from sin, because his ignorance was partly wilful: yet we may not deny but even that error did lessen and extenuate the sinfulness of the action something, and so excuse him in part: *a tanto*, though not *a toto*. Because it appeareth, by many evidences, that his ignorance therein was not grossly affected and wilful; and look, how much measure you abate in the wilfulness, so much weight you take off from the sin. The light of Nature, though, to a man that could have made the

*. It may be doubted whether in this fourteenth section and other parts of this Sermon, due allowance has been made for the feeling of the age and country of Abimelech in respect of Polygamy.

best of it, it had been sufficient to have discovered the vicious deformity, and consequently the moral unlawfulness of fornication, yet was it nothing so clear, in this particular, as in many other things that concerned common Equity and commutative Justice. Besides, common opinion, and the custom of the times, and consent, though corrupt consent, of most nations, in making but a light matter of it, might easily carry him with the stream, and make him adventure to do as most did, without any scruple, or so much as suspicion of such foul wickedness, in a course so universally allowed and practised. These respects make his wilfulness less, his ignorance more pardonable, and his sin more excusable. And I make no question, the premisses considered, but that Abraham's sin in denying Sarah to be his wife, notwithstanding the equivocating trick he had to help it, was by many degrees greater than Verse 12. was Abimelech's in taking her, as being done more against knowledge, and therefore more wilfully. Abimelech's sin in taking her, though with some degrees of wilfulness, being yet a sin rather of ignorance: whereas Abraham's sin in denying her was a sin of infirmity at the least, if not much rather a sin of presumption.

16. Now although this former error, *ignorantia juris*, could not wholly excuse Abimelech from sin in what he had done, but in part only; for he sinned therein, by giving way to unchaste desires and purposes, against the seventh Commandment: yet that other error of his, *ignorantia facti*, in mistaking a married woman for a single, doth wholly excuse his fact from the sins of injustice, in coveting and taking another man's wife, against the eighth and the tenth Commandments. He had not the least injurious intent against Abraham, in that kind and degree; and therefore, though he took his wife from him indeed, yet not knowing any such matter by her,* especially having withal made ordinary and requisite inquiry thereafter, it must be granted he did it unwittingly, and therefore unwilfully, and therefore also unsinfully, as to that species of sin. St. Augustine saith truly,† *Peccatum ita est voluntarium, ut si non sit voluntarium, non est peccatum:* §. 16. yet the latter did.

* 'by her.' See above, §. 6.

† De Vera Religione, cap. xiv. §. 27. quoted again by Sanderson, in the Second Praelection de Conscientiae Obligatione, §. 17.

without some consent of the Will, no complete actual sin is committed. Such ignorance therefore as preventeth *a toto*, and cutteth off all consent of the Will, must needs also excuse, and that *a toto*, the actions that proceed therefrom from being sins. It is clear, from the words of my Text, that Abimelech's heart was sincere, in this action of taking Sarah, from any injury intended to Abraham therein, although *de facto* he took his wife from him: because he did it ignorantly.

§. 17. The first Inference; concerning the Salvation of our Forefathers.

17. By what hath been spoken we may see, in part, what kind of ignorance it is that will excuse us from sin, either in whole or in part, and what will not. Let us now raise some profitable Inferences from this observation. First, our Romish Catholics often twit us with our fore-elders:* 'What,' say they, 'were they not all down-right Papists? believed, as we believe? worshipped, as we worship? You will not say, they all lived and died in idolatry, and so are damned. And if they were saved in their faith, why may not the same faith save us? and why will not you also be of that Religion that brought them to Heaven?' A motive more plausible than strong: the vanity whereof our present Observation, duly considered and rightly applied, fully discovereth. We have much reason to conceive good hope of the Salvation of many of our forefathers, who, led away with the common superstitions of those blind times, might yet, by those general truths which by the mercy of God were preserved amid the foulest ovespreadings of Popery, agreeable to the Word of God, though clogged with an addition of many superstitions and Antichristian inventions withal, be brought to true faith in the Son of God, unfeigned repentance from dead works, and a sincere desire and endeavour of new and holy obedience.† This was the Religion that brought them to Heaven, even faith, and repentance, and obedience. This is the true, and the old, and Catholic Religion; and this is our Religion, in which we hope to find Salvation; and if ever any of you that miscall yourselves Catholics come to Heaven, it is this Religion must carry you thither. If, together with this true Religion of faith, re-

* 'fore-elders,' *ancestors*. Mr. Hunter informs me, that he never heard this word South of York; and there only once. Brockett, Glossary of North Country Words.

† Compare Hooker's Sermon on Justification, II. §. 9–22. in Keble's Edition of his Works.

pentance, and obedience, they embraced also your additions, as their blind guides then led them; prayed to our Lady, kneeled to an Image, crept to a Cross, flocked to a Mass, as you now do, these were their spots and their blemishes, these were their hay and their stubble, these were their errors and their ignorances. And I doubt not but as St. Paul for his blasphemies and persecutions, so they obtained mercy for these sins, because they did them ignorantly, in misbelief. And upon the same ground, we have cause also to hope charitably of many thousand poor souls in Italy, Spain, and other parts of the Christian World at this day, that by the same blessed means they may obtain mercy and Salvation in the end, although in the mean time, through ignorance, they defile themselves with much foul idolatry, and many gross superstitions. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

§. 18. A Doubt removed.

18. But the ignorance that excuseth from sin is *ignorantia facti*, according to that hath been already declared: whereas theirs was *ignorantia juris*, which excuseth not. And besides, as they lived in the practice of that worship which we call idolatry, so they died in the same without repentance; and so their case is not the same with St. Paul's, who saw those his sins, and sorrowed for them, and forsook them. But how can idolaters, living and dying so without repentance, be saved? It is answered, that ignorance in point of fact, so conditioned as hath been showed, doth so excuse *a toto*, that an action proceeding thence, though it have a material inconformity unto the Law of God, is yet not formally a sin. But I do not so excuse the idolatry of our forefathers, as if it were not in itself a sin, and that, without repentance, damnable. But yet their ignorance, being such as it was, nourished by education, custom, tradition, the tyranny of their leaders, the fashion of the times, not without some show also of piety and devotion, and themselves withal having such slender means of better knowledge, though it cannot wholly excuse them from sin without repentance damnable, yet it much lesseneth and qualifieth the sinfulness of their idolatry, arguing that their continuance therein was more from other prejudices than from a wilful contempt of God's Holy Word and Will. And as for their repentance, it is as certain that as many of them as are saved did repent of their idolatries, as it is certain no

idolater nor other sinner can be saved without repentance. But then, there is a double difference to be observed, between repentance for ignorances, and for known sins. The one is, that known sins must be confessed, and repented of, and pardon asked for them in particular, every one singly by itself, I mean for the kinds, though not ever for the individuals, every kind by itself, at least where God alloweth time and leisure to the penitent to call himself to a punctual examination of his life past, and doth not, by sudden death or by some disease that taketh away the use of reason, deprive him of opportunity to do that. Whereas for ignorances, it is enough to wrap them up all together in a general and implicit confession, and to crave pardon for them by the lump, as David doth in the nineteenth Psalm: *Who can understand all his errors? Lord, cleanse thou me from my secret sins.* The other difference is, that known sins are not truly repented of but where they are forsaken; and it is but an hypocritical semblance of penance, without the truth of the thing, where is no care either endeavour of reformation. But ignorances may be faithfully repented of, and yet still continued in. The reason, because they may be repented of in the general and in the lump, without special knowledge that they are sins; but without such special knowledge they cannot be reformed. Some of our forefathers, then, might not only live in Popish idolatry, but even die in an idolatrous act, breathing out their last with their lips at a crucifix, and an Ave Mary in their thoughts; and yet have truly repented, though but in the general, and in the crowd of their unknown sins, even of those very sins; and have at the same instant true faith in Jesus Christ, and other graces accompanying Salvation.

Verse 12.

Prov. xxviii. 13.

§. 19. Another Doubt removed.

19. But why then may not I, will some Popeling* say, continue as I am, and yet come to Heaven, as well as they continued what they were, and yet went to Heaven? If I be an idolater, it is out of my error and ignorance; and if that general prayer unto God at the last, to forgive me all my ignorances, will serve the turn, I may run the same course I do without danger or fear: God will be merciful to me for what I do ignorantly. Not to preclude all possibility of mercy

* 'Popeling.' See above, Sermon iii. §. 20. Hacket uses 'Papalins' in the same sense. e. g. Life of Williams, i. 102, ii. 106.

from thee or from any sinner, consider yet, there is a great difference between their state and thine, between thine ignorance and theirs. They had but a very small enjoyment of the light of God's Word, hid from them under two bushels for sureness: under the bushel of a tyrannous Clergy, that, if any man should be able to understand the books, he might not have them; and under the bushel of an unknown tongue, that, if any man should chance to get the books, he might not understand them. Whereas to thee the light is holden forth, and set on a candlestick; the books open, the language plain, legible, and familiar. They had eyes, but saw not, because the light was kept from, and the land was dark about them, as the darkness of Egypt. But thou livest as in a Goshen, where the light encompasseth thee in on all sides, where there are *burning and shining lamps*[b] in every corner of the land. Yet is thy blindness greater, (for who so blind, as he that will not see?) and more inexcusable, because thou shuttest thine eyes against the light, lest thou shouldst see and be converted, and God should heal thee. Briefly, they wanted the light, thou shunnest it; they lived in darkness, thou delightest in it; their ignorance was simple, thine affected and wilful. And therefore, although we doubt not but that the times of their *ignorance God winked at*, yet thou hast no warrant to presume that God will also in these times wink at thee, who rejectest the counsel of God against thine own soul, and, for want of love and affection to the Truth, art justly given over to strong delusions, to believe fables, and to put thy confidence in things that are lies. So much for that matter.

S. Matthew v. 15.

Exod. x. 21–23.

S. Matthew xiii. 15.

Acts xvii. 30.

S. Luke vii. 30.

2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.

§. 20. The second Inference; not to flatter ourselves in our Ignorance.

20. Secondly, here is a needful admonition for us all, not to flatter ourselves for our ignorance of those things that concern us in our general or particular Callings, as if for that ignorance our reckoning should be easier at the Day of Judgment. Ignorance indeed excuseth sometimes, sometimes lessen-eth a fault; but yet not all ignorance, all faults; not wilful and affected ignorance, any fault. Nay, it is so far from doing that, that on the contrary it maketh the offence much more grievous, and the offender much more inexcusable.[c] A heed-

[b] S. John v. 35. [*He was the lamp burning and shining.* Rhemish Testament.]

[c] Ignorantia directe et per se voluntaria auget voluntarium, et per consequens peccatum. Aquin. Prim.

less servant, that neither knoweth nor doth his master's will,
S. Luke xii. 48. deserveth some stripes. A stubborn servant, that knoweth it and yet transgresseth it, deserveth more stripes. But worse than them both is that ungracious servant, who, fearing his Master will appoint him something he had rather let alone, keepeth himself out of the way beforehand, and micheth* in a corner out of sight, of purpose that he might not know his master's will, that so he may, after, stand upon it when he is chidden, and say, he knew it not: such an untoward servant deserveth yet more stripes. Would the Spirit of God, think you, in the Scripture so often call upon us to get the know-
Prov. ii. 3, 4. ledge of God's Will and to increase therein, or would He
Hosea iv. 1. commence His suit against a land, and enter his action against the people thereof, for want of such knowledge, if ignorance were better or safer? O, it is a fearful thing for a man to
See Prov. i. 24, to the end. shun instruction, and to say he desireth not the knowledge of God. *Noluerunt intelligere, ut bene agerent.* When men
Ps. xxxvi. 3. are once come to that pass, that *they will not understand nor*
S. John iii. 20. *seek after God*, when they hate the light, because they take
Eph. v. 11. pleasure in the works of darkness; when they are afraid to know too much, lest their hearts should condemn them for not doing thereafter;[d] when, like the deaf adder, they stop their
Ps. lviii. 4, 5. ears against the voice of the charmer, for fear they should be charmed by the power of that voice out of their crooked and serpentine courses; when they are so resolved to take freedom to sin, that they choose to be still ignorant,[e] rather than hazard the forgoing of any part of that freedom, what do they, but even run on blindfold into hell? and through inner,

Sec. Quaest. 76. art. 4. [Contingit autem quandoque, quod talis ignorantia directe et per se est voluntaria, sicut cum aliquis sua sponte nescit aliquid, ut liberius peccet; et talis ignorantia videtur augere voluntarium et peccatum. The words *per consequens* do not appear in this particular passage, though in the context they occur frequently.]

* 'micheth,' *skulketh, playeth the truant*. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Scornful Lady, v. 1. 'Sure she has some meeching rascal in her house;' and, for the noun 'micher,' ibid. ii. 1, and Shakspeare, First Part of K. Henry IV. ii. 4.

[d] Impia enim mens odit etiam ipsum intellectum; et homo aliquando nimium mente perversa timet intelligere, ne cogatur quod intellexerit facere. Augustin. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 13. [156. tom. v. 749 D. ed. Ben. Paris. 1683.]

[e] Ex intentione voluntatis ad peccandum provenit, quod aliquis vult subire ignorantiae damnum, propter libertatem peccandi. Aquinas, Prim. Sec. Quaest. 76. art. 4.

post along unto *utter darkness*,[f] where *shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth? Frustra sibi de ignorantia blandiuntur*, saith St. Bernard, *qui, ut liberius peccent, libenter ignorant* [*vel infirmantur.*][g] St. Paul so speaketh of such men, as if their case were desperate: *If any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant:* as who say, if he will needs be wilful, at his peril be it. But as many as desire to walk in the fear of God with upright and sincere hearts, let them thirst after the knowledge of God and His will, as the hart after the rivers of waters; let them cry after knowledge, and lift up their voices for understanding; let them seek it as silver, and dig for it as for hid treasures; let their feet tread often in God's courts, and even wear the thresholds of His house; let them delight in His holy Ordinances, and rejoice in the light of His Word; depending upon the ministry thereof with unsatisfied ears and unwearied attention, and feeding thereon with uncloyed appetites, that so they may see, and hear, and learn, and understand, and believe, and obey, and increase in wisdom, and in grace, and in favour with God and all good men.

1 Cor. xiv. 38. Ps. xlii. 1. Prov. ii. 3, 4.

§. 21. The third Inference; against sins done with knowledge.

21. But then, in the third place, consider, that if all ignorance will not excuse an offender, though some do, how canst thou hope to find any colour of excuse or extenuation, that sinnest wilfully, with knowledge, and against the light of thine own conscience? The least sin, thus committed, is in some degree a presumptuous sin, and carrieth with it a contempt of God, and in that regard is greater than any sin of ignorance.[h] *To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is a sin*, saith St. James: sin beyond all plea of excuse. St. Paul, though he were a persecutor of the truth, a blasphemer of the Lord, and injurious to the brethren, yet he obtained mercy, because he did all that ignorantly. His bare ignorance was not enough to justify him; but he stood need of * God's mercy, or else he had perished in those sins, for all his ignorance. But yet who can tell whether ever he should have found that mercy, if he had done the same things and not in ignorance? Ignorance then, though it do not deserve pardon,

S. James iv. 17. 1 Tim. i. 13.

[f] τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον. S. Matt. xxv. 30.

[g] Bernard. de Grad. Humil. [cap. 7. §. 19. tom. i. 567. ed. Ben.]

[h] Quo quisque melius sapit, eo deterius delinquit. Gregor. in Pastoral. [Part. 3. Admon. 23. cap. 22. tom. ii. col. 68 E. ed. Bened.]

* 'stood need of.' Compare Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 26.

yet it often findeth it, because it is not joined with open contempt of Him that is able to pardon. But he that sinneth against knowledge, doth *ponere obicem*, if you will allow the phrase, and it may be allowed in this sense: he doth not only provoke the Justice of God by his sin, as every other sinner doth, but he doth also dam up the Mercy of God by his contempt, and doth his part to shut himself out for ever from all possibility of pardon, unless the boundless, overflowing Mercy of God come in upon him with a strong tide, and with an unresisted current break itself a passage through. Do this then, my beloved brethren. Labour to get knowledge, labour to increase your knowledge, labour to abound in knowledge; but beware you rest not in your knowledge. Rather, give all
2 S. Pet. i. 5, 7. diligence to add to your knowledge temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity, and other good graces. Without these, your knowledge is unprofitable,
Eccl. i. 18. nay, damnable. *Qui apponit scientiam, apponit dolorem*, is true in this sense also. He that increaseth knowledge, unless his care of obedience rise in some good proportion with it, doth but lay more rods in steep for his own back, and increase the number of his stripes, and add to the weight and measure of his own most just condemnation. Know this, that although integrity of heart may stand with some ignorances, as Abimelech here pleadeth it, and God alloweth it, yet that man's heart is devoid of all singleness and sincerity, who alloweth himself in any course he knoweth to be sinful, or taketh this liberty to himself, to continue and persist in any known ungodliness. And thus much for our second Observation.

§. 22. Observation III. Moral Integrity may be in the heart of an unbeliever.

22. I add but a third, and that taken from the very thing which Abimelech here pleadeth, viz. the integrity of his heart, considered together with his present personal estate and condition. I dare not say, he was a castaway; for what knoweth any man, how God might after this time, and even from these beginnings, deal with him in the riches of His Mercy? But at the time, when the things storied in this chapter were done, Abimelech doubtless was an unbeliever, a stranger to the covenant of God made with Abraham, and so in the state of a carnal and mere natural man. And yet both he pleadeth, and God approveth, the innocency and integrity of his heart in this business: *Yea, I know that thou diddest this in the in-*

tegrity of thine heart. Note hence, that in an unbeliever and natural man, and therefore also in a wicked person and a castaway, for, as to the present state, the unregenerate and the reprobate are equally incapable of good things, there may be truth and singleness and integrity of heart in some particular actions.

§. 23. With the Explication,

23. We use to teach, and that truly, according to the plain evidence of Scripture and the judgment of the ancient Fathers, against the contrary tenet of the later Church of Rome, that all the works of unbelievers and natural men are not only stained with sin, for so are the best works of the faithful too, but also are really and truly sins: both in their own nature, because they spring from a corrupt fountain, for *that which is born of the flesh is flesh,* and it is impossible that *a corrupt tree* should *bring forth good fruit;* and also in God's estimation, because He beholdeth them as out of Christ, in and through whom alone He is well pleased. St. Augustine's judgment concerning such men's works is well known, who pronounceth of the best of them, that they are but *splendida peccata,** glorious sins; and the best of them are indeed no better. We may not say therefore, that there was in Abimelech's heart, as nor in the heart of any man, a Legal integrity, as if his person, or any of his actions, were innocent, and free from sin, in that perfection which the Law requireth.

S. John iii. 6.

S. Matt. vii. 18.

S. Matt. iii. 17.

* See above, Sermon i. §. 10. I have not been able to trace this phrase, which may have been meant for a terse mode of exhibiting S. Augustin's views in a condensed form. Compare Bp. Lake, Sundry Sermons De Tempore, p. 119. 'As for Moral Virtues, destitute of Grace, what joy can there be in them, which the Fathers have judiciously censured to be no better than *splendida peccata?*' Sanderson makes an allowance in favour of the virtues of the Heathen, at the close of §. 25. It may be interesting to compare these passages from Jer. Taylor, Duct. Dubit. Bk. iv. ch. i. sect. i. Rule i. §§. 30, 31. in the last of which he seems to have had in his memory some of the instances mentioned by S. Augustin, IV. iii. contra Julianum. 'He that makes use of a little grace, shall have more; and he that well uses the laws of his country, and keeps the justice of his nation, and observes the principles of reason, and walks according to the light he hath, though he hath not the broad noon-day of the Gospel, yet he is so far on Christ's side, that Christ will join Himself to his, and draw him nearer, and advance his nature, and promote his excellent dispositions, and by the methods of the Spirit bring him to God .... This is true also in the habits or actions of any one virtue when it is alone, or when it comes in upon the stock of nature, or education, or passion, or human law.... The chastity of Lucretia, the honesty of Decianus, the truth of Rutilius, the bravery of Scaevola, the repentance of Ahab, the humiliation of Manasses, the zeal of Jehu, the compassion of Titus over Jerusalem, these things and these persons are considered by God, and have their portion of reward.'

Neither yet can we say, there was in his heart, as nor in the heart of any unbeliever, an Evangelical integrity, as if his person were accepted, and, for the person's sake, all or any of his actions approved, with God, accepting them as perfect, through the supply of the abundant perfections of Christ then to come. That first and Legal integrity supposeth the righteousness of works, which no man hath; this latter and Evangelical integrity, the righteousness of faith, which no unbeliever hath: no man's heart being, either Legally perfect, that is in Adam, or Evangelically perfect, that is out of Christ. But there is a third kind of integrity of heart, inferior to both these, which God here acknowledgeth in Abimelech, and of which only we affirm, that it may be found in an unbeliever and a reprobate; and that is a natural or moral integrity: when the heart of a mere natural man is careful to follow the direction and guidance of right reason, according to that light of Nature or Revelation which is in him, without hollowness, halting, and hypocrisy. *Rectus usus Naturalium* we might well call it: the term were fit enough to express it, had not the Papists and some other Sectaries, by souring it with the leaven of their Pelagianism, rendered it suspicious. The Philosophers and learned among the Heathen, by that which they call a good conscience, understand no other thing than this very integrity whereof we now speak. Not that an unbeliever can have a good conscience, taken in strict propriety of truth, and in a spiritual sense. For the whole man being corrupted through the Fall of Adam, the conscience also is wrapped in
Tit. i. 15. the common pollution, so that *to them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled,* as speaketh St. Paul; and, being so defiled,
Heb. x. 22. can never be made good, till their hearts be sprinkled from
Heb. ix. 14. that pollution *by the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God,* and till *the conscience be purged* by the same blood *from dead works to serve the living God,* as speaketh the same Apostle, Hebrews ix, and x.

§. 24. Proof, 24. But yet a good conscience, in that sense as they meant it, a conscience morally good, many of them had, who never had faith in Christ, nor so much as the least inckling* of the

* 'inckling,' *an imperfect hint,* form 'ingling' is quoted from the Craven Glossary, where another Works of K. James I. *a hint, a*

doctrine of Salvation. By which, *not having the Law, they were a Law unto themselves; doing by nature* many of *the things contained in the Law;* and choosing rather to undergo the greatest miseries, as shame, torment, exile, yea, death itself, or any thing that could befall them, than wilfully to transgress those rules, and notions, and dictates of piety and equity, which the God of Nature had imprinted in their consciences. Could heathen men and unbelievers have taken so much comfort in the testimony of an excusing conscience, as it appeareth many of them did, if such a conscience were not in the kind, that is, morally, good? Or how else could St. Paul have made that protestation he did in the council, *Men and Brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day?* at least, if he meant to include, as most of the Learned conceive he did, the whole time of his life, as well before his conversion as after? Balaam was but a cursed hypocrite; and therefore it was but a copy of his countenance, and no better, for his heart even then hankered after *the wages of unrighteousness,* when he looked asquint upon Balak's liberal offer, with this answer: *If Balak would give me his house full of gold and silver, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more.* But I assure myself, many thousands of unbelievers in the world, free from his hypocrisy, would not, for ten times as much as he there spake of, have gone beyond the rules of the Law of Nature written in their hearts, to have done either less or more. Abimelech seemeth to be so affected, at least in this particular action and passage with Abraham, wherein God thus approveth his integrity, *Yea, I know that thou diddest this in the integrity of thy heart.*

Rom. ii. 14. Acts xxiii. 1. 2 S. Pet. ii. 15. Num. xxii. 18.

25. The reason of which moral integrity in men unregenerate and merely natural, is that *Imperium Rationis,* that power of natural Conscience and Reason, which it hath, and exerciseth over the whole man, doing the office of a Lawgiver, and having the strength of a Law: *they are a Law unto themselves,* saith the Apostle. As a Law, it prescribeth what is to be done; as a Law, it commandeth that what is prescribed be done; as a Law, it proposeth rewards and punishments ac-

§. 25. and Reason thereof. Rom. ii. 14.

surmise, Major Moor; who, in his Suffolk Words, writes 'inklin,' and illustrates from Shakspeare, King Henry VIII. ii. 2. 'I can give you inkling Of an ensuing evil.'

cordingly as what it prescribeth and commandeth is done or not done. Abimelech's own Reason, by the light of Nature, informed him, that to take another man's wife from him was injurious, and enjoineth him therefore, as he will avoid the horrors and upbraidings of a condemning heart, by no means to do it. Resolved accordingly to do, and to obey the law of Reason written in his heart, before he durst take Sarah into his house, he maketh inquiry first, whether she were a single woman or a wife; and therefore, although, upon mis-information, he took another man's wife, unwitting that she was so, he pleadeth here, and that justly, the integrity of his heart. And from obedience to the same Law, especially, spring those many rare examples of Justice, Temperance, Gratitude, Beneficence, and other Moral Virtues, which we read of in Heathen men, not without admiration: which were so many strong evidences also of this moral integrity of their hearts.

§. 26. Inferences thence: The First.

26. A point that would bear much enlargement, if we intended to amplify it by instances, and did not rather desire to draw it briefly into use by inferences. A just condemnation, it may be, first, to many of us, who call ourselves Christians and Believers, and have many blessed means of direction and instruction for the due ordering of our hearts and lives which those Heathens wanted, yet come so many paces, nay, leagues, short of them, both in the detestation of vicious and gross enormities, and in the conscionable practice of many offices of virtue. Among them what strictness of Justice, which we either slack or pervert. What zeal of the common good, which we put off each man to other, as an unconcerning thing. What remission of private injuries, which we pursue with implacable revenge. What contempt of honours and riches, which we so pant after, so adore. What temperance and frugality in their provisions, wherein no excess satisfieth us. What free beneficence to the poor and to pious uses, whereto we contribute penuriously and with grudging. What conscience of oaths and promises, which we so slight. What reverence of their Priests, whom we count as the scum of the people. What loathing of swinish drunkenness, wherein some of us glory. What detestation of usury,* as a monster in nature, whereof some of ours

* 'usury.' Compare Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 15. The unlawfulness of Usury was asserted by South in Sermon iii. Interest deposed, and

make a trade. Particularities are infinite, but what should I say more? Certainly, unless our righteousness exceed theirs, we shall never come to Heaven; but how shall we escape the nethermost hell, if our unrighteousness exceed theirs? *Shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it keep the Law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the Law?* said St. Paul to the Jew. Make application to thyself, thou that art Christian. Rom. ii. 27.

27. Secondly, if even in unbelievers, and hypocrites, and castaways there may be, in particular actions, integrity and singleness of heart, then it can be but an uncertain rule for us to judge of the true state of our own or other men's hearts, by what they are in some few particular actions. Men are indeed that, not which they show themselves in some passages, but what they are in the more general and constant tenor of their lives. If we should compare Abimelech and David together, by their different behaviour in the same kind of temptation, in two particulars of the Sacred History, and look no further, we could not but give sentence upon them quite contrary to right and truth. We should see Abimelech, on the one side, though allured with Sarah's beauty, yet free from the least injurious thought to her husband, or adulterous intent in himself. We should behold David, on the other side, enflamed with lust after Bathsheba, whom he knew to be another man's wife; plotting first, how to compass his filthy desires with the wife, and then, after, how to conceal it from the husband, by many wicked and politic fetches; and, when none of those would take, at last to have him murdered, being one of his principal Worthies, in a most base and unworthy fashion, with the loss of the lives of a number of innocent persons more, besides the betraying of God's cause, the disheartening of his people, and the encouragement of his and their enemies. When we should see and consider all this on both sides, and lay the one against the other, what could we think but that Abimelech were the Saint, and §. 27. The Second. 2 Sam. xi. 2, &c. 2 Sam. xxiii. 39.

Truth restored, ii. 2. Sanderson's language is very like that of a Tract, of which a second edition appeared in London, in 1634, viz. The English Usurer, or Usury condemned by the most learned and famous Divines of the Church of England, and dedicated to all his Majesty's Subjects, for the stay of the further increase of the same. Collected by Jno Blaxton, Preacher of God's Word at Osmington in Dorsetshire. 4°. pp. 80.

David the infidel; Abimelech the man after God's own heart, and David a stranger from the covenant of God? Yet was David, all this while, within that covenant; and for any thing we know, or is likely, Abimelech not. Particular actions, then, are not good evidences either way: as wherein both an unbeliever, awed sometimes by the Law of natural Conscience, may manifest much simplicity and integrity of heart, and the true child of God, swayed sometimes with the law of sinful concupiscence, may bewray much foul hypocrisy and infidelity. But look into the more constant course of both their lives; and then may you find the Hypocrite and the Unbeliever wholly distinguished from the godly, by the want of those right marks of sincerity that are in the godly: no zeal of God's glory, no sense of original corruption, no bemoaning of his privy hypocrisy and secret atheism, no suspicion of the deceitfulness of his own heart, no tenderness of Conscience in smaller duties, no faithful dependence upon the providence or promises of God for outward things, no self-denial or poverty of spirit, no thirst after the Salvation of his brethren, and the like. None of these, I say, to be found in any constant manner in the general course of his life, although there may be some sudden light flashes of some of them now and then in some particular actions. Measure no man's heart then, especially not thine own, by those rarer discoveries of moral integrity in particular actions, but by the powerful manifestations of habitual grace in the more constant tenor of life and practice.

Rom. vii. 23.

§. 28. The Third.

28. We may learn hence, thirdly, not to flatter ourselves too much upon every integrity of heart, or to think ourselves discharged from sin in the sight of God, upon every acquittal of our own Consciences, when as all this may befall an hypocrite, an unbeliever, a reprobate. When men accuse us of hypocrisy or unfaithfulness, or lay to our charge things we never did, it is, I confess, a very comfortable and a blessed thing, if we can find protection against their accusations in our own hearts, and be able to plead the integrity thereof in bar against their calumniations. Our integrity, though it be but moral, and though but only in those actions wherein they charge us wrongfully, and the testimony of our own consciences, may be of very serviceable use to us thus far, to make us regardless of the accusations of unjust men: that one testimony within shall

Ps. xxxv. 11.

relieve us more than a thousand false witnesses without can injure us. *With me it is a very small thing*, saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 3. *that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment:* as if he should have said, I know myself better than you do; and therefore, so long as *I know nothing by* myself* of those things wherein you censure me, I little reckon what either you or any others shall think or say by* me. We may by his example make use of this, the inward testimony of our hearts being sufficient to justify us against the accusations of men; but we may not rest upon this, as if the acquittal of our hearts were sufficient to justify us in the sight of God. St. Paul knew it, who durst not rest thereupon, but therefore addeth in the very next following words, *Yea, I judge not mine own self; for I* Ver. 3, 4. *know nothing by myself, yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.* Our hearts are close, and false; and nothing so deceitful as they; and who can know them perfectly but He that made them and can search into them? Jer. xvii. Other men can know very little of them: ourselves something 9, 10. more; but God alone all. If, therefore, when other men condemn us we find ourselves aggrieved, we may remove our cause into an higher court, appeal from them to our own consciences, and be relieved there. But that is not the highest Court of all: there lieth yet an appeal further and higher than it, even to the Judgment-seat, or rather to the Mercy-seat of God, who both can find just matter in us to condemn us, even in those things wherein our own hearts have acquitted us; and yet can withal find a gracious means to justify us, even from those things wherein our own hearts condemn us. Whether therefore our hearts condemn us or condemn us not, *God is* 1 S. John *greater than our hearts, and knoweth all things.* [To con- iii. 20. clude all this point, and therewithal the first general part of my Text, let no excusations of our own consciences on the one side, or confidence of any integrity in ourselves, make us presume we shall be able to stand just in the sight of God, if He should enter into judgment with us; but let us rather make suit unto Him, that since we cannot understand all our own errors, He would be pleased to cleanse us *from our secret sins.* Ps. xix. 12. And on the other side, let no accusations of our own con-

* 'by,' *against.* See Sermon i. ad Aulam, §. 34.

sciences, or guiltiness of our manifold frailties and secret hypocrisies, make us despair of obtaining His favour and righteousness, if, denying ourselves and renouncing all integrity in ourselves, as of ourselves, we cast ourselves wholly at the footstool of His mercy, and seek His favour in the face of His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ the righteous.]

§. 29. The second part of the Text opened.

29. Of the former branch of God's reply to Abimelech, in those former words of the Text, *Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart*, hitherto. I now proceed to the latter branch thereof, in those remaining words, *For I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.* וָאֹחְשֶׂךָ. The word signifieth properly to hold in, or to keep back: *Retinui*,[i] or *Cohibui*,[k] or, as the Latin hath it, *Custodivi te*:[l] implying Abimelech's forwardness to that sin. Certainly he had been gone, if God had not kept him in, and held him back. The Greek rendereth it, καὶ ἐφεισάμην σοῦ,[m] *I spared thee;* and so the Latin *parcere*, is sometimes used for *impedire*, or *prohibere*, to hinder, or not to suffer, as in that of Virgil, *Parcite oves nimium procedere.*[n] Or taking *parcere* in the most usual signification, for sparing, it may very well stand with the purpose of the place; for indeed God spareth us no less, indeed He spareth us much more, when He maketh us forbear to sin, than when, having sinned, He forbeareth to punish; and as much cause have we to acknowledge His mercy and to rejoice in it, when He holdeth our hands that we sin not, as when He holdeth His own hands that He strike not. *For I also withheld thee from sinning against me.* How? Did not Abimelech sin in taking Sarah? or was not that, as every other sin is, a sin against God? Certainly, if Abimelech had not sinned in so doing, and that against God, God would not have so plagued him, as He did, for that deed. The meaning then is, not that God withheld him wholly from sinning at all therein, but that God withheld him from sinning against Him in that foul kind, and in that high degree, as to defile himself by actual filthiness with Sarah, which but for God's restraint he had done: *Therefore*

Ps. li. 4.

[i] Vatablus in Schol. hic. [*retinui itaque Ego te.* Ad verbum, *et prohibui etiam Ego te.* ap. Crit. Sacr.]
[k] Junius, hic. [in versione.]
[l] Vulgat. hic.
[m] Septuag. hic.
[n] Virgil. Eclog. iii. [94.]

suffered I thee not. Οὐκ ἀφῆκα,[o] *Non dimisi te,*[p] that is, I did not let thee go, I did not leave thee to thyself: or, most agreeably to the letter of the Text in the Hebrew, *Non dedi,* or *non tradidi;*[q] I did not deliver, or give. That may be, *non dedi potestatem,* I did not give thee leave or power;[r] and so giving is sometimes used for suffering, as Psalm xvi. *Non dabis Sanctum Tuum, Thou wilt not suffer, &c.* and elsewhere.[s] Or *non dedi te tibi,* I gave thee not to thyself. A man cannot be put more desperately into the hands of any enemy than to be left *in manu consilii sui,** delivered into his own hands, and given over to the lust of his own heart. Or, as it is here translated, *I suffered thee not.* We should not draw in God as a party when we commit any sin, as if He joined with us in it, or lent us His helping hand for it. We do it so alone, without His help, that we never do it but when He letteth us alone, and leaveth us destitute of His help. For the kind, and manner, and measure, and circumstances, and events, and other the appurtenances of sin, God ordereth them by His Almighty power and providence so, as to become serviceable to His most wise, most just, most holy purposes; but, as for the very formality itself of the sin, God is, to make the most of it, but a sufferer. *Therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.* Signifying that God had so far restrained Abimelech from the accomplishment of his wicked and unclean purposes, that Sarah was preserved free by His good Providence, not only from actual adultery, but from all unchaste and wanton dalliance also with Abimelech. Ps. xvi. 10.

§. 30. Observation IV. God's Restraint of Man's Sin:

30. It was God's great mercy to all the three parties, that He did not suffer this evil to be done. For by this means He graciously preserved Abimelech from the sin, Abraham from the wrong, and Sarah from both. And it is to be acknowledged the great mercy of God, when at any time He doth, (and He doth ever and anon more or less,) by His gracious and powerful restraint withhold any man from running into those extremities

[o] Septuag. hic. [p] Vulg. hic. [q] נתתיך.
[r] H. A. hic. [See above, §. 6.]
[s] Gen. xxxi. 7. [οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς κακοποιῆσαί με. LXX.] Exod. iii. 19. xii. 23. Num. xxii. 13. Judges i. 34. xv. 1. [οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς εἰσελθεῖν.] Esther ix. 14.

* Quoted, as in Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 6, from Ecclus. xv. 14. Vulg. Deus ab initio constituit hominem, et reliquit illum in manu consilii sui.

of sin and mischief, whereinto his own corruption would carry him headlong, especially when it is set agog by the cunning persuasions of Satan, and the manifold temptations that are *in the world through lust.* The points then that arise from this part of my Text are these. 1°. Men do not always commit those evils their own desires or outward temptations prompt them unto. 2°. That they do it not, it is from God's restraint. 3°. That God restraineth them, it is of His own gracious goodness and mercy. The common subject matter of the whole three points being one, viz. God's restraint of man's sin, we will therefore wrap them up all three together, and so handle them, in this one entire Observation, as the total of all three. God, in His mercy, oftentimes restraineth men from committing those evils, which, if that restraint were not, they would otherwise have committed.

§. 31. with the Measure and Means thereof.

31. This restraint, whether we consider the measure or the means which God useth therein, is of great variety. For the measure: God sometimes restraineth men *a toto,* from the whole sin whereunto they are tempted; as He withheld Joseph from consenting to the persuasions of his mistress: sometimes only *a tanto,* and that more or less, as in His infinite wisdom He seeth expedient; suffering them perhaps but only to desire the evil, perhaps to resolve upon it, perhaps to prepare for it, perhaps to begin to act it, perhaps to proceed far in it, and yet keeping them back from falling into the extremity of the sin, or accomplishing their whole desire in the full and final consummation thereof: as here He dealt with Abimelech. Abimelech sinned against the eighth Commandment, in taking Sarah injuriously from Abraham, say he had been but her brother; and he sinned against the seventh Commandment in a foul degree, in harbouring such wanton and unchaste thoughts concerning Sarah, and making such way as he did, by taking her into his house, for the satisfying of his lust therein; but yet God withheld him from plunging himself into the extremity of those sins, not suffering him to fall into the act of uncleanness. And as for the means whereby God withholdeth men from sinning, they are also of wonderful variety. Sometimes He taketh them off, by diverting the course of the corruption, and turning the affections another way. Sometimes He awaketh natural conscience, which is a

very tender and tickle* thing, when it is once stirred, and will boggle† now and then at a very small matter in comparison, over it will do at some other times. Sometimes He affrighteth them with apprehensions of outward evils, as shame, infamy, charge, envy, loss of a friend, danger of human laws, and sundry other such like discouragements. Sometimes He cooleth their resolutions, by presenting unto their thoughts the terrors of the Law, the strictness of the last Account, and the endless, unsufferable torments of hell fire. Sometimes, when all things are ripe for execution, He denieth them opportunity, or casteth in some unexpected impediment in the way, that quasheth all. Sometimes He[t] disableth them, and weakeneth the arm of flesh wherein they trusted, so as they want power to their will; as here He dealt with Abimelech. And sundry other ways He hath, more than we are able to search into, whereby He layeth a restraint upon men, and keepeth them back from many sins and mischiefs, at least from the extremity of many sins and mischiefs, whereunto otherwise nature and temptation would carry them with a strong current. Not to speak yet of that sweet, and of all other the most blessed and powerful restraint which is wrought in us by the Spirit of sanctification, renewing the soul, and subduing the corruption that is in the flesh unto the obedience of the Spirit: at which I shall have fitter occasion to touch anon.

§. 32. That there is such a Restraint proved;

32. In the mean time, that there is something or other that restraineth men from doing some evils, unto which they have not only a natural proneness, but perhaps withal an actual desire and purpose, might be shown by a world of instances; but because every man's daily experience can abundantly furnish him with some, we will therefore content ourselves with the fewer. Laban meant no good to Jacob, when, taking his brethren with him, he pursued after him seven days' journey

See Gen. xxxi. 23, &c.

* 'tickle,' *easily moved.* 'So tickle is the state of earthly things.' Spenser, F. Q. VI. iii. 5. 'Thy head stands so tickle on thy shoulders.' Shakspeare, Measure for Measure, i. 3.

† 'boggle.' Compare Sermon i. ad Aulam, §. 13.

[t] Quosdam praesciens Deus multa peccare posse, flagellat eos infirmitate corporis, ne peccent, ut eis utilius sit frangi languoribus ad salutem, quam remanere incolumes ad damnationem. Hug. 2. de Anim. [I have not been able to find this in Hugo de S. Victore or in Hugo Etherianus.]

in an hostile manner; and he had power to his will, to have done Jacob a mischief, Jacob being but *imbellis turba*, no more but himself, his wives and his little ones, with his flocks and herds, and a few servants to attend them, unable to defend themselves, much more unmeet to resist a prepared enemy. Yet, for all his power and purpose and preparation, Laban, when he had overtaken Jacob, durst have nothing at all to do with him; and he had but very little to say to him neither. The worst was but this, *Thus and thus have you dealt with me;* and, *It is in the power of mine hand to do you hurt: but the God of your father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take thou heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.* See the story in Genesis xxx. The same Jacob had a brother as unkind as that uncle, nay, much more despitefully bent against him than he, for he had vowed his destruction: *The days of mourning for my father are at hand, and then I will slay my brother Jacob.* And although the mother well hoped that some few days' time and absence would appease the fury of Esau, and all should be forgotten, yet twenty years after, the old grudge remained; and upon Jacob's approach Esau goeth forth to meet him with four hundred men, armed, as it should seem, for his destruction, which cast Jacob into a terrible fear; and much distressed he was, good man, and glad to use the best wit he had, by dividing his companies, to provide for the safety at least of some part of his charge. And yet behold, at the encounter, no use at all of the four hundred men, unless to be spectators and witnesses of the joyful embraces and kind loving compliments that passed between the two brothers, in the liberal offers and modest refusals each of other's courtesies, in the thirty-second and thirty-third chapters of Genesis. A good *Probatum* of that observation of Solomon, *When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.* Balaam, the conjurer, when the King Balak had cast the hook before him, baited with ample rewards in hand and great promotions in reversion, if he would come over to him and curse Israel, had both covetousness and ambition enough in him to make him bite, so that he was not only willing, but even desirous, to satisfy the King; for he *loved the wages of unrighteousness* with his heart, and therefore made trial, till he saw

Gen. xxxi. 29.

xxvii. 41.

Ibid. 44, 45.

xxxi. 38.

xxxii. 6.

Ibid. 7, 8.

xxxiii. 4, &c.

Prov. xvi. 7.

Numb. xxii. 7, 17.

2 S. Pet. ii. 15.

it was all in vain, if by any means he could wring a permission from God to do it. But when his eyes were opened to behold Israel, and his mouth open that he must now pronounce something upon Israel, though his eyes were full of envy and his heart of cursing, yet God put a parable of blessing into his mouth; and he was not able to utter a syllable of any thing other than good concerning Israel, in the twenty-second and twenty-fourth chapters of Numbers. Numb. xxiii. 13, 14, 17, 28. xxiv. 3, &c.

33. In all which and sundry other instances, wherein when there was intended beforehand so much evil to be done, and there was withal in the parties such a forward desire, and such solemn preparation to have it done, and yet when all came to all, so little or nothing was done of what was intended, but rather the contrary, it cannot, first, be imagined that such a stop should be made, but by the powerful restraint of some superior and overruling hand; neither may we doubt, in the second place, that every such restraint, by what second and subordinate means soever it be furthered, is yet the proper work of God, as proceeding from and guided by His Almighty and irresistible Providence. As for that which happened to Balaam, that it was God's doing, the evidence is clear: we have it from the mouth of two or three witnesses. The wisard* himself confesseth it, *The Lord will not suffer me to go with you.* The King that set him on work upbraideth him with it: *I thought indeed to promote thee to great honour: but lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from honour.* And Moses would have Israel take knowledge of it: *The Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a blessing, because the Lord thy God loved thee.* It was God then that turned Balaam's curse into a blessing; and it was the same God, that turned Laban's revengeful thoughts into a friendly expostulation; and it was the same God, that turned Esau's inveterate malice into a kind, brotherly congratulation. He that hath set bounds to the sea, which, though the waves thereof rage horribly, they cannot pass, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and here shalt thou stay* §. 33. and that it is from God: Numb. xxii. 13. xxiv. 11. Deut. xxiii. 5.

* 'wisard.' See this mode of writing the word above, Sermon iv. §. 27. It appears in Spencer, F. Q. II. ix. 53. and in Milton, Comus, 571, 872; Ode on the Nativity, 63, and Lycidas, 55.

thy proud waves,[u] and did command the waters of the Red
Exod. xv. 8. Sea to stay their course, and stand up as on heaps; and by
Ps. cxiv. 3. His power could enforce the waters of the River Jordan to run quite against the current up the channel; He hath in His
Prov. xxi. 1. hands and at His command the hearts of all the sons of men, yea, though they be the greatest Kings and Monarchs in the world, *as the rivers of waters;* and can wind and turn them at His pleasure, inclining them which way soever He will.
Ps. lxxvi. 10. *The fierceness of man shall turn to thy praise,* saith David, *and the fierceness of them shalt thou retain:* the latter clause of the verse is very significant in the Original, and cometh home to our purpose; as if we should translate it, *Thou shalt gird the remainder of their wrath,* or, *of their fierceness.*[x] The meaning is this. Suppose a man's heart be never so full fraught with envy, hatred, malice, wrath, and revenge, let him be as fierce and furious as is possible, God may indeed suffer him, and He will suffer him, to exercise so much of his corruption, and proceed so far in his fierceness, as He seeth expedient and useful for the forwarding of other His secret and just and holy appointments, and so order the sinful fierceness of man by His wonderful Providence, as to make it serviceable to His ends, and to turn it to His Glory. But look, whatsoever wrath and fierceness there is in the heart of a man, over and above so much as will serve for those His eternal purposes, all that surplusage, that overplus and remainder, whatsoever it be, He will gird: He will so bind, and hamper, and restrain him, that he shall not be able to go an inch beyond his tedder,* though he would fret his heart out. *The fierceness of man shall turn to Thy praise,* so much of it as he doth execute; and the remainder of their fierceness thou shalt refrain, that they execute it not. Be he never so great a Prince, or have he never so great a spirit, all is one: he must come under. No difference with God in this, betwixt him that
Ps. lxxvi. 12. sitteth on the throne and her that grindeth at the mill. *He shall refrain the spirit of Princes, and is wonderful among the Kings of the earth,* is the last verse of that Psalm.

[u] Job xxxviii. 8, 11. [Compare Sermon viii. §. 37.]

[x] שארית חמה תחגר. *Residuum irarum cinges.* [q. d. Qu si vinculo cohibebis ne quis posthac irascatur tibi.] Vatablus. [ap. Crit. Sacr.]

* 'tedder,' the older form of *tether.*

34. Now of the truth of all that hath been hitherto spoken in both these branches of the Observation, viz. that, first, there is a restraint of evil, and then, secondly, that this restraint is from God, I know not any thing can give us better assurance, taking them both together, than to consider the generality and strength of our natural corruption. General it is, first, in regard of the persons, overspreading the whole lump of our nature: there is not a child of Adam free from the common infection: *they are all corrupt, they are altogether become abominable, there is none that doth good, no not one.* General, secondly, in regard of the subject, overrunning the whole man, soul and body, with all the parts and powers of either, so as from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no whole part. *Whatsoever is born of the flesh is flesh;* and *to them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled;* and *All the imaginations of the thoughts of their hearts are only evil continually.* General, thirdly, in regard of the object, averse from all kind of good: *In me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing;* and prone to all kind of evil, *He hath set himself in no good way, neither doth he abhor any thing that is evil.* Add to this generality the strength also of our corruption, how vigorous and stirring and active it is, and how it carrieth us headlongly with full speed into all manner of evil, *As the horse rusheth into the battle,* so as we have no hold of ourselves, neither power to stay ourselves, till we have run as far as we can, and, without the mercy of God, plunged ourselves into the bottom of the bottomless pit. Lay all this together, and there can be no other sufficient reason given than this restraint whereof we now speak, why any one man should at any one time refrain from any one sin, being tempted thereunto, whereinto any other man at any other time hath fallen, being alike tempted. Every man would kill his brother as Cain did Abel, and every man defile his sister as Amnon did Thamar, and every man oppress his inferior as Ahab did Naboth, and every man supplant his betters as Zibah did Mephibosheth, and every man betray his Master as Judas did Christ: every man being as deep in the loins of Adam, as either Cain, or Judas, or any of the rest. Their nature was not more corrupt than ours, neither ours less corrupt than theirs. And therefore every one

§. 34. with the reason of both.

Ps. xiv. 4.

Is. i. 6.

S. John iii. 6.

Tit. i. 15.

Gen. vi. 5.

Rom. vii. 18.

Ps. xxxvi. 4.

Jer. viii. 6.

Gen. iv. 8.

2 Sam. xiii. 14.

1 Kings xxi. 16.

2 Sam. xvi. 3.

S. Matthew xxvi. 15.

of us should have done those things, as well as any one of them, if [there had not been something without and above nature to withhold us, and keep us back therefrom,][y] when we were tempted, which was not in that measure afforded them, when they were tempted. And from whom can we think that restraint to come, but from that God, who is the Author and the Lord of nature, and hath the power and command and rule of nature? by whose grace and goodness we are whatsoever we are, and to whose powerful assistance we owe it, if we do any good, for it is He that setteth us on; and to His powerful restraint, if we eschew any evil, for it is He that keepeth us off: *Therefore I also withheld thee from sinning against me.*

§. 35. That this Restraint is from the Mercy of God.

35. And as to the third point in the Observation, it is not much less evident than the two former, namely, that this restraint, as it is from God, so it is from the mercy of God. Hence it is that Divines usually bestow upon it the name of grace, distinguishing between a twofold grace, a special renewing grace, and a common restraining grace. The special and renewing grace is indeed so incomparably more excellent, that, in comparison thereof, the other is not worthy to be called by the name of grace, if we would speak properly and exactly. But yet the word, grace, may not unfitly be so extended, as to reach to every act of God's Providence, whereby at any time He restraineth men from doing those evils which otherwise they would do; and that in a threefold respect, of God, of themselves, of others. First, in respect of God, every restraint from sin may be called grace, in as much as it proceedeth *ex mero motu*, from the mere goodwill and pleasure of God, without any cause, motive, or inducement in the man that is so restrained. For take a man in the state of corrupt nature, and leave him to himself, and think, how it is possible for him to forbear any sin whereunto he is tempted. There is no power in nature to work a restraint: nay, there is not so much as any proneness in nature to desire a restraint: much less then is there any worth in nature to deserve a restraint.

[y] ... nullum peccatum est quod unquam fecit homo, quod non possit facere alter homo, si desit Creator, a quo factus est homo. August. Soliloq. cap. 15. [tom. vi. 92 E. Append. ed. Ben. Paris. 1685. This illustration appeared, for the first time, in the margin of the Fourth Edition.]

Issuing, therefore, not at all from the powers of nature, but from the free pleasure of God, as a beam of His merciful Providence, this restraint may well be called grace. And so it may be, secondly, in respect of the persons themselves, because, though it be not available to them for their everlasting Salvation, yet it is some favour to them, more than they have deserved, that by this means their sins, what in number, what in weight, are so much lesser than otherwise they would have been; whereby also their account shall be so much the easier, and their stripes so many the fewer. St. Chrysostom[z] often observeth it as an effect of the mercy of God upon them, when He cutteth off great offenders betimes with some speedy destruction; and He doth it out of this very consideration, that they are thereby prevented from committing many sins, which, if God should have lent them a longer time, they would have committed. If his observation be sound, it may then well pass for a double mercy of God to a sinner, if He both respite his destruction, and withal restrain him from sin; for by the one, He giveth him so much longer time for repentance, which is one mercy, and by the other, He preventeth so much of the increase of his sin, which is another mercy. Thirdly, it may be called grace, in respect of other men. For, in restraining men from doing evil, God intendeth, as principally His own glory, so withal the good of mankind, especially of His Church, in the preservation of human society, which could not subsist an hour, if every man should be left to the wildness of his own nature, to do what mischief the devil and his own heart would put him upon, without restraint. So that the restraining of men's corrupt purposes and affections proceedeth from that *φιλανθρωπία*, as the Apostle somewhere calleth it, that love of God to mankind, whereby He willeth their preservation; and might therefore, in that respect, bear the name of grace, though there should be no good at all intended thereby to the person so restrained. Just as those *χαρίσματα*, those spiritual gifts, which God hath distributed in a wonderful variety for the edifying of His Church, though they oftentimes bring no good to the receiver, are yet styled graces in the Scriptures, because the distribution of them proceedeth from the gracious

Tit. iii. 4.

[z] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25. [tom. iv. p. 233 B. ed. Ben.] et alibi saepe.

love and favour of God to His Church, whose benefit He intendeth therein. God here restrained Abimelech, as elsewhere He did Laban, and Esau, and Balaam, and others, not so much for their own sakes, though perhaps sometimes that also, as for their sakes whom they should have injured by their sins, if they had acted them. As here Abimelech for His chosen Abraham's sake, and Laban and Esau for His servant Jacob's sake, and Balaam for His people Israel's sake. As it is said in Psalm cv, and that with special reference, as I conceive it, to this very story of Abraham, *He suffered no man to do them wrong, but reproved even Kings for their sakes; saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* He reproved even Kings, by restraining their power, as here Abimelech; but it was for their sakes still, that so Sarah His anointed might not be touched, nor His Prophet Abraham sustain any harm.

Ps. cv. 14.

§. 36. The Inferences: of two sorts.

36. We see now the Observation proved in all the points of it. 1°. Men do not always commit those evils they would and might do. 2°. That they do not, it is from God's restraint, who withholdeth them. 3°. That restraint is an act of His merciful Providence, and may therefore bear the name of grace, in respect of God who freely giveth it, of them whose sins and stripes are the fewer for it, of others who are preserved from harms the better by it. The Inferences we are to raise from the premisses, for our Christian practice and comfort, are of two sorts; for so much as they may arise from the consideration of God's restraining grace, either as it may lie upon other men, or as it may lie upon ourselves.

§. 37. Of the former sort. 1°. to bless God for our preservation.

37. First, from the consideration of God's restraint upon others, the Church and children and servants of God may learn to whom they owe their preservation, even to the power and goodness of their God, in restraining the fury of His and their enemies. We live among scorpions, and as sheep in the midst of wolves; and they that hate us without a cause, and are mad against us, are more in number than the hairs of our heads; and yet, as many and as malicious as they are, by the mercy of God still we are, and we live, and we prosper in some measure, in despite of them all. Is it any thanks to them? None at all. The seed of the Serpent beareth a natural and an immortal hatred against God and all good men; and if

Ezek. ii. 6. S. Matt. x. 16. Ps. lxix. 4. Gen. iii. 15.

they had horns to their curstness,* and power answerable to their wills, we should not breathe a minute. Is it any thanks to ourselves? Nor that neither: we have neither number to match them, nor policy to defeat them, nor strength to resist them, weak, silly,† little flock, as we are. But to whom then is it thanks? As if a little flock of sheep escape, when a multitude of ravening wolves watch to devour them, it cannot be ascribed, either in whole or in part, either to the sheep in whom there is no help, or to the wolf in whom there is no mercy, but it must be imputed all and wholly to the good care of the shepherd, in safe guarding his sheep, and keeping off the wolf; so, for our safety and preservation in the midst and in the spite of so many enemies, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,* whose greatest strength is but weakness, much less unto them whose tenderest mercies *are cruel,—but unto Thy Name be the glory, O thou Shepherd of Israel,* who, out of thine abundant love to us who are the flock of Thy pasture and the sheep of Thy hands, hast made Thy power glorious, in curbing and restraining their malice against us. *Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for His goodness, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!* Wonders we may well call them. Indeed, they are miracles, if things strange, and above, and against the ordinary course of Nature may be called miracles. When we read the stories in the Scriptures, of Daniel cast into the den among the lions, and not touched; of the Three Children walking in the midst of the fiery furnace, and not scorched; of a viper fastening upon Paul's hand, and no harm following; we are stricken with some amazement at the consideration of these strange and supernatural accidents; and these we all confess to be miraculous escapes. Yet such miracles as these, and such escapes, God worketh daily in our preservation, notwithstanding we live encompassed with so many firebrands of hell, such herds of ravening wolves and lions and tigers, and such numerous generations of vipers: I mean wicked and ungodly men, the spawn of the old Serpent, who have it by kind‡ from

S. Luke xii. 32.

Ps. cxv. 1.

Prov. xii. 10.

Ps. lxxx. 1.

Ps. xcv. 7.

Ps. cvii. 8, 15, &c.

Dan. vi. 23.

Dan. iii. 27.

Acts xxviii. 5.

S. Matt. iii. 7.

* 'curstness,' *ill temper, malignity,* as in Shakspeare, Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 2. 'Nor curstness grow to the matter.' Compare Sermon vi. ad Magistr. §. 31. for phraseology nearly the same as that used here.

† 'silly.' See above, Serm. i. §. 16.

‡ 'kind,' *nature,* as in the following section. See Sermon xv. ad Aulam, §. 24.

their father to thirst after the destruction of the Saints and servants of God; and to whom it is as natural so to do, as for the fire to burn, or a viper to bite, or a lion to devour. *Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for* this *His goodness, and* daily *declare* these His great *wonders, which He* daily *doth for the children of men!*

§. 38. 2°. not to trust wicked men,

38. Secondly, since this restraint of wicked men is so only from God, as that nothing either they, or we, or any creature in the world can do can withhold them from doing us mischief, unless God lay His restraint upon them, it should teach us so much wisdom, as to take heed how we trust them. It is best and safest for us, as in all other things, so in this, to keep the golden mean, that we be neither too timorous nor too credulous. If wicked men then threaten and plot against thee, yet fear them not: God can restrain them if He think good; and then, assure thyself they shall not harm thee. If, on the other side, they collogue,* and make show of much kindness to thee, yet trust them not: God may suffer them to take their own way, and not restrain them; and then, assure thyself they will not spare thee. Thou mayest think perhaps of some one or other of these, that sure his own good nature will hold him in, or thou hast had trial of him heretofore, and found him faithful as heart could wish; or thou hast some such tye upon him by kindred, neighbourhood, acquaintance, covenant, oath, benefits, or other natural or civil obligation, as will keep him off, at least from falling foul upon thee all at once. Deceive not thyself: these are but slender assurances for thee to abide upon. Good nature? alas! where is it? Since Adam fell, there was never any such thing *in rerum natura*. If there be any good thing in any man, it is all from grace: nature is all naught: even that which seemeth to have the preeminence in nature, τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, is stark naught. We may talk of this and that, of good natured men, and I know not what. But the very truth is, set grace aside, I mean all grace,

Rom. viii. 7.

* 'collogue,' *flatter, wheedle, coax*, as explained by Grose, and as used by Bp. Wilkins, Of Natural Religion, i. 14; by Bp. Hall, Sermon, The Hypocrite, v. 369. P. Hall's ed.; by Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, f°. 74; and by Barrow, Of the Pope's Supremacy, Suppos. v. §. 19. In Brockett's North Country Words, in the Craven, Hallamshire, and Hereford Glossaries, in Moor's Suffolk Words, and Forby's East Anglian Vocabulary, the word has only the sense of conferring secretly, and that, for the most part, with a mischievous purpose, assigned to it.

both renewing and restraining grace, there is no more good nature in any man than there was in Cain and in Judas. That thing which we use to call good nature is indeed but a subordinate means or instrument, whereby God restraineth some men more than others, from their birth and special constitution, from sundry outrageous exorbitancies;* and so is a branch of this restraining grace whereof we now speak. And as for thy past experience, that can give thee little security: thou knowest not what fetters God laid upon him then, nor how he was pleased with those fetters. God might, full sore against his will, not only restrain him from doing thee hurt, but also constrain him to do thee good: as sometimes He commanded the ravens to feed Elijah,† a bird so unnatural to her young ones,[a] that they might famish for her, if God did not otherwise provide for them; and therefore it is noted in the Scripture as a special argument of God's Providence, that He *feedeth the young ravens that call upon Him.* But as nothing that is constrained is durable, but every thing when it is constrained against its natural inclination, if it be let alone, will at length return to his own kind[b] and primitive disposition, as these ravens which now fed Elijah would have been as ready another time to have pecked out his eyes, so a natural man is a natural man still, howsoever overruled for the present; and if God, as He hath hitherto by His restraint withheld him, shall but another while withhold His restraint from him, he will soon discover the inbred hatred of his heart against good things and men, and make thee at the last beshrew thy folly in trusting him, when he hath done thee a mischief unawares. And therefore if he have done thee seven courtesies, and promise fair for the eighth, yet trust him not, *for there are seven abominations in his heart.* And as for whatsoever other hanck‡ [25].

1 Kings xvii. 4.

Ps. cxlvii. 9. Job xxxviii. 41. S. Luke xii. 24.

Prov. xxvi. 25.

* 'exorbitancies,' *gross deviations from rule or right:* so used by Dryden and Swift. See Sermon i. ad Aulam, §§. 28, 34. and 'exorbitant,' Sermon viii. ad Aulam, §. 40. Sermon iii. ad Clerum, §. 32. and compare Hacket's Life of Williams, iii. 117. 'From this exorbitancy sprung the Iliad of wrongs which the Bishop endured.'

† See the same thought and quotation in Sermon xiv. ad Aulam, §. 17.

[a] καὶ ἐκβάλλει τοὺς νεοττοὺς ὁ κόραξ. Aristot. Hist. Anim. vi. [6. 4.] ... pellunt nidis pullos [ac volare cogunt,] sicut et corvi. Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 12.

[b] Usque recurret. Hor. Epist. I. x. [24.]

‡ 'hanck.' Compare Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 43.

thou mayest think thou hast over him, be it never so strong, unless God manacle him with His powerful restraint, he can as easily unfetter himself from them all, as Samson from the green withs and cords wherewith the Philistines bound him. All those forementioned relations came in but upon the bye and since: whereas the hatred of the wicked against goodness is of an ancienter date, and hath his root in corrupt nature; and is therefore of such force that it maketh void all obligations, whether civil, domestical, or other, that have grown by virtue of any succeeding contract. It is a ruled case, *Inimici domestici*, a man's enemies may be they of his own house. Let not any man then that hath either Religion or honesty have any thing to do with that man: at least, let him not trust him more than needs he must that is an enemy either to Religion or honesty. So far as common humanity and the necessities of our lawful occasions and callings do require, we may have to do with them, and rest upon the good Providence of God for the success of our affairs even in their hands, not doubting but that God will both restrain them from doing us harm, and dispose them to do us good, so far as He shall see expedient for us; but then, this is not to trust them, but to trust God with them. But for us to put ourselves needlessly into their hands, and to hazard our safety upon their faithfulness by way of trust, there is neither wisdom in it, nor warrant for it. Although God may do it, yet we have no reason to presume that He will restrain them for our sakes, when we might have prevented it ourselves, and would not; and this we are sure of, that nothing in the world can preserve us from receiving mischief from them, unless God do restrain them. Therefore trust them not.

Judg. xvi. 9, 12.

Gen. iii. 15.

S. Matt. x. 36.

§. 39. 3°. nor to fear them.

39. Thirdly, if at any time we see wickedness set aloft, bad men grow to be great, or great men show themselves bad, sinning with an high hand and an arm stretched out, and God seemeth to strengthen their hand by adding to their greatness and increasing their power; if we see the wicked devouring *the man that is more righteous than he*, and God hold His tongue the whilst; if we see the ungodly course it up and down at pleasure which way soever the lust of their corrupt heart carrieth them without controul, like a wild untamed colt in a spacious field, God, as it were, laying the reins in the neck,

Hab. i. 13.

and letting them run; in a word, when we see the whole world out of frame and order, we may yet frame ourselves to a godly patience, and sustain our hearts amid all these evils with this comfort and consideration, that still God keepeth the reins in His own hands; and when He seeth His time, and so far as He seeth it good, He both can and will check, and controul, and restrain them at His pleasure, as the cunning rider sometimes giveth a fiery horse head, and letteth him fling and run as if he were mad: he knoweth he can give him the stop when he list. The great Leviathans, that take their pastime in the sea, Ps. civ. 26. and with a little stirring of themselves can make *the deep to* Job xli. 31, *boil like a pot*, and cause *a path to shine after them* as they 32. Verse 5. go, He can play with them as children do with a bird: He suffereth them to swallow His hook, and to play upon the line, and to roll and tumble them in the waters; but anon He striketh the hook through their noses, and fetcheth them up, and layeth them upon the shore, there to beat themselves without help or remedy, exposed to nothing but shame and contempt. What, then, if God suffer those that hate Him to prosper for the time, and in their prosperity to lord it over His heritage? What if Princes should sit and speak against us Ps. cxix. 23. without a cause, as it was sometimes David's case? Let us not Verse 161. fret at the injuries, nor envy at the greatness of any: let us rather betake us to David's refuge, to be occupied in the statutes and to meditate in the Holy Word of God. In that Holy Word we are taught, that the hearts even of Kings, how much more then of inferiour persons, are in His rule and governance, and that He doth dispose and turn them as seemeth best to His godly wisdom; that He can *refrain the spirit of* Ps. lxxvi. *Princes, bind Kings in chains, and Nobles in links of iron*; 12. cxlix. 8. and though they rage furiously at it, and lay their heads together, in consultation how to break His bands and cast away His cords from them, yet they imagine but a vain thing: ii. 2–6. whilst they strive against Him on earth, *He laugheth them to scorn* in Heaven, and, maugre all opposition, will establish the Kingdom of His Christ, and protect His people. Say, then, the great ones of the world exercise their power over us, and lay what restraints they can upon us: our comfort is, they have not greater power over us than God hath over them; nor can they so much restrain the meanest of us, but God can restrain

the greatest of them much more.[c] Say our enemies curse us with bell, book, and candle: our comfort is, God is able to return the curse upon their own heads, and, in despite of them
Deut. xxiii. 5. too, turn it into a blessing upon us. Say, they make warlike preparations against us to invade us: our comfort is, God can
Ps. xlviii. 7. break the ships of Tarshish, and scatter the most invincible
Ps. lxix. 4. [? lxviii. 30.] Armadoes.* Say, they that hate us be more in number than the hairs of our head: our comfort is, the very hairs of our
S. Matthew x. 30. head are numbered with Him; and without His sufferance not
S. Luke xxi. 18. the least hair of our heads shall perish. Say, to imagine the worst, that our enemies should prevail against us, and they
Ps. cvi. 41. that hate us should be lords over us for the time: our comfort is, He that loveth us is Lord over them, and can bring them under us again, when He seeth time. In all our fears, in all our dangers, in all our distresses, our comfort is that God can do all this for us: our care should be by our holy obedience to strengthen our interest in His protection, and not to make Him a stranger from us, yea an enemy unto us, by our sins and impenitency: that so we may have yet more comfort, in a cheerful confidence, that God will do all this for us. The
Is. x. 7. Assyrian, whose ambition it was to be the Catholic King and universal Monarch of the world, styling himself *the great King*,
xxxvi. 4, &c. *Thus saith the great King, the King of Assyria,* when he had sent messengers to revile Israel, and an army to besiege and destroy Jerusalem, yet for all his rage he could do them
x. 12. no harm: the Lord brought down *the stout heart of the King*
xxxvii. 29. *of Assyria,* put a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his lips, and
Verse 33. made him return back by the way by which he came, without taking the city, or so much as casting a bank or shooting an arrow against it. Nay, he that is indeed the great King *over*
Job xli. 34. *all the children of pride,* and hath better title to the style of most Catholic King† than any that ever yet bare it, whose

[c] Regum timendorum in proprios greges, Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis. Horat. Carm. III. [i. 5.]

* 'Armadoes.' Compare Sermon viii. §. 36. This form occurs twice in Shakspeare, Comedy of Errors, iii. 2. King John, iii. 4. By a similar corruption 'Malligo' was used for Malaga, or for the wine there produced. See Nares' Glossary. Hacket has 'Privado' for Confidant, Life of Williams, i. pp. 40, 125, 173.

† These allusions in a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross may be regarded as evidences of the state of the popular feeling towards Spain, shortly after the breaking off of the Spanish Match. Compare Sermon v. §. 47. Sanderson's style, in these

territories are large as the earth and spacious as the air, I mean the Devil, *the Prince of this world*, he is so fettered with the chain of God's power and providence, that he is not able, with all his might and malice, no, not though he raise his whole forces, and muster up all the powers of darkness and hell into one band, to do us any harm in our souls, in our bodies, in our children, in our friends, in our goods, no, not so much as our very pigs, or any small thing that we have, without the special leave and sufferance of our good God. He must have his *Dedimus potestatem* from Him, or he can do nothing. Eph. ii. 2. S. Matthew viii. 31, 32.

40. Fourthly, since this restraint is an act of God's Mercy, whom we should strive to resemble in nothing more than in showing mercy, let every one of us, in imitation of our Heavenly Father, and in compassion to the souls of our brethren, and for our own good and the good of human society, endeavour ourselves * faithfully, the best we can, to restrain, and withhold, and keep back others from sinning. The Magistrate, the Minister, the Householder, every other man in his place and calling, should do their best, by rewards, punishments, rebukes, encouragements, admonitions, persuasions, good example, and other like means, to suppress vice and restrain disorders, in those that may any way come within their charge. Our first desire should be, and for that we should bend our utmost endeavours, that, if it be possible, their hearts might be seasoned with grace and the true fear of God; but as in other things, where we cannot attain to the full of our first aims, *Pulchrum est*, as

§. 40. To labour to restrain others from sinning. S. Luke vi. 36.

Sermons, may, perhaps, be thought to have varied with the place, and with the motley character of the audience which might be expected to assemble there. St. Paul's Cross, it should be borne in mind, was not used for preaching only, but also for the delivery of Proclamations, and the publication of many matters strictly secular.

From some of the besetting faults of the Preachers at St. Paul's Cross, adulation and time-serving, Sanderson kept himself quite free. Compare the Court and Times of James I, March 27, 1617. A Sermon of Donne's was 'exceedingly liked generally, the rather that he did Q. Elizabeth right and held himself close to the Text, without flattering the time too much.' ii. 4. April 5, 1623. 'One Richardson, a young man of Magdalen College, Oxford, preached and performed it reasonably well; and the better, because he was not long, nor immoderate in commendation of the time, but gave Q. Elizabeth her due.' ib. 383.

* 'endeavour ourselves.' Compare the Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter;—'and also daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of His most holy Life;'—and the Ordering of Priests and

he saith, *in secundis tertiisve consistere,*[d] so here, we may take some contentment in it, as some fruit of our labours, in our Callings, if we can but wean them from gross disorders, and reduce them from extremely debaucht courses to some good measure of civility. It ought not to be, it is not our desire, to make men hypocrites; and a mere civil man is no better; yet to us, that cannot judge but by the outward behaviour, it is less grief when men are hypocrites than when they are profane. Our first aim is, to make you good: yet some rejoicing it is to us, if we can but make you less evil. Our aim is, to make you, of natural, holy and spiritual men; but we are glad, if, of dissolute, we can but make you good moral men, if instead of planting grace we can but root out vice, if instead of *the power of godliness* in the reformation of the inner man, we can but bring you to some tolerable stayedness in the conformity of the outward man. If we can but do this, though we are to strive for that, our labour is not altogether in vain in the Lord. For hereby, first, men's sins are both less and fewer; and that, secondly, abateth somewhat both of the number and weight of their stripes, and maketh their punishment the easier; and, thirdly, there is less scandal done to Religion, which receiveth not so much soil and disreputation by close hypocrisy, as by lewd and open profaneness. Fourthly, the Kingdom of Satan is diminished, though not directly in the strength, for he loseth never a subject by it, yet somewhat in the glory thereof, because he hath not so full and absolute command of some of his subjects as before he had, or seemed to have. Fifthly, much of the hurt that might come by evil example is hereby prevented. Sixthly, the people of God are preserved from many injuries and contumelies which they would receive from evil men, if their barbarous manners were not thus civilized: as a fierce mastiff doth least hurt, when he is chained and muzzled. Seventhly and lastly, and which should be the strongest motive of all the rest to make us

Deacons: 'I will endeavour myself.' The reflective usage was common with many Verbs, as, e. g. below, Sermon viii. §. 30. 'relying ourselves.' And the Letter of Warning to Lord Monteagle, K. James' Works, p. 227. 'retire yourself into the country.' Shakspeare, Coriolanus, i. 8. 'give me leave to retire myself.'

[d] Cicero, [ad M. Brutum Orator. i. 4. Prima enim sequentem, honestum est in secundis tertiisque consistere.]

industrious to repress vicious affections in others, it may please God these sorry beginnings may be the forerunners of more blessed and more solid graces.[e] My meaning is not, that these moral restraints of our wild corruption can either actually or but virtually prepare, dispose, or qualify any man for the grace of conversion and renovation, or have in them *virtutem seminalem*, any natural power which by ordinary help may be cherished and improved so far, as an egg may be hatched into a bird, and a kernel sprout and grow into a tree: far be it from us to harbour any such Pelagian conceipts; but this I say, that God, being a God of order, doth not ordinarily work but in order and by degrees, bringing men from the one extreme to the other by middle courses; and therefore seldom bringeth a man from the wretchedness of forlorn nature * to the blessed estate of saving grace, but where first by His restraining grace in some good measure He doth correct nature and moralize it. Do you, then, that are Magistrates, do we that are Ministers, let all fathers, masters, and others whatsoever, by wholesome severity, if fairer courses will not reclaim them, deter audacious persons from offending, break those that are under our charge of their wills and wilfulness, restrain them from lewd and licentious practices and company, not suffer sin upon them for want of reproving them in due and seasonable sort, snatch them out of the fire, and bring them as far as we can out of the snare of the Devil to God-ward, and leave the rest to Him. Possibly, when we have faithfully done our part, to the utmost of our power, He will set in † graciously, and begin to do His part, in their perfect conversion. If, by our good care, they may be made to forbear swearing and cursing and blaspheming, they may in time, by His good grace, be brought to fear an oath. If we restrain them from gross profanations upon His holy day in the mean time, they may come at length to think His *Sabbath a delight.* If we keep them from swilling, and gaming, and revelling, and rioting, and roaring,‡ the while, God may

Lev. xix. 17.

S. Jude, verse 23.

Eccl. ix. 2.

Is. lviii. 13.

[e] [Non inutiliter etiam metu legum humana coercetur audacia, ut et tuta sit inter improbos innocentia, et] in ipsis improbis dum formidato supplicio fraenetur facultas, invocato Deo sanetur voluntas. Augustin. tom. ii. [530. Epist. cliii. §. 16. ed. Ben. Paris.]

* 'forlorn nature.' See below, §. 41. Forlorn here seems to be exactly equivalent to the German *Verloren*.

† 'set in.' Compare Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 26.

‡ 'roaring.' Compare Bp. Hall,

frame them ere long to a sober and sanctified use of the creatures; and so it may be said of other sins and duties. I could willingly enlarge all these points of Inferences; but that there are yet behind sundry other good Uses to be made of this restraining grace of God, considered as it may lie upon ourselves; and therefore I now pass on to them.

§. 41. Inferences of the latter sort: 1°. Not to be proud of it when God hath restrained us.

41. First, there is a root of pride in us all, whereby we are apt to think better of ourselves than there is cause; and every infirmity in our brother, which should rather be an item* to us of our frailty, serveth as fuel to nourish this vanity, and to swell us up with a Pharisaical conceit, that forsooth we are not like other men. Now, if at any time, when we see any of our brethren fall into some sin from which, by the good hand of God upon us, we have been hitherto preserved, we then feel this swelling begin to rise in us, as sometimes it will do, the point already delivered may stand us in good stead to prick the bladder of our pride, and to let out some of that windy vanity, by considering that this our forbearance of evil, wherein we seem to excel our brother, is not from nature but from grace, not from ourselves but from God. And here a little let me close with thee, whosoever thou art, that pleasest thyself with odious comparisons, and standest so much upon terms of betterness: thou art neither extortioner, nor adulterer, drunkard, nor swearer, thief, slanderer, nor murderer, as such and such are. It may be thou art none of these; but I can tell thee what thou art, and that is as odious in the sight of God as any of these: thou art a proud Pharisee, which perhaps they are not. To let thee see thou art a Pharisee, do but give me a direct answer, without shifting or mincing, to that question of St. Paul, *Quis te discrevit? Who hath made thee to differ from another?* Was it God, or thyself, or both together? If thou sayest it was God, thou art a dissembler, and thy boasting hath already confuted thee; for what hast thou to do to glory in that which is not thine? *If thou hast received it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* If thou sayest it was from thyself, what Pharisee could have

S. Luke xviii. 11.

1 Cor. iv. 7.

Ibid.

Quo Vadis? Sect. 4. 'How commonly do they learn to roar, instead of pleading;' and, instead of knowing the laws, 'learn how to contemn them.' See below, Sermon vii. §. 69. 'a complete roarer.'

* 'item,' an article in an inventory; and so, a note, *a memento*.

assumed more? All the shift thou hast is to say it was God indeed that made the difference; but He saw something in thee for which He made thee to differ: thou acknowledgest His restraint in part, but thine own good nature did something. If this be all, thou art a very Pharisee still, without all escape. That Pharisee never denied God a part, no, nor the chiefest part neither: he began his vaunting prayer with an acknowledgment of God's work: *I thank thee, O God, that I am not like other men.* It was not the denial of all unto God, but the assuming of any thing unto himself, that made him a right Pharisee. Go thy way then, and, if thou wilt, do God and thyself right: deny thyself altogether, and give God the whole glory of it,[f] if thou hast been preserved from any evil. And from thy brother's fall, besides compassioning forlorn nature in him, make a quite contrary use unto thyself, even to humble thee thereby, with such like thoughts as these, *considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.* Am I any better than he? of better mould than he? or better tempered than he? Am not I a child of the same Adam, a vessel of the same clay, a chip of the same block, with him? why then should I be high-minded, when I see him fallen before me? why should I not rather fear, lest my foot slip, as well as his hath done? I have much cause, with all thankfulness, to bless God for His good Providence over me, in not suffering me to fall into this sin hitherto, and, with all humility, to implore the continuance of His gracious assistance for the future, without which I am not able to avoid this, or any other evil.

S. Luke xviii. 11.

Gal. vi. 1.

Rom. xi. 20.

42. Secondly, since all restraints from sin, by what second means soever they are conveyed unto us or forwarded, are from the merciful Providence of God, whensoever we observe that God hath vouchsafed us, or doth offer us, any means of such His gracious restraint, it is our duty joyfully to embrace those means, and carefully to cherish them, and with all due thankfulness to bless the Name of God for them. Oh, how oft have we plotted, and projected, and contrived a course for the expediting of our perhaps ambitious, perhaps covetous, perhaps malicious, perhaps voluptuous designs; and, by the Providence

§. 42. 2°. How to entertain the means God affordeth us of Restraint.

[f] Gratiae tuae deputo, et quaecunque non feci mala. Augustin. Confess. ii. 7. [tom. i. 86 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1679. This illustration appeared, for the first time, in the fourth Edition.]

of God, some unexpected intervening accident hath marred the curious frame of all our projects, that they have come to nothing: as a spider's web spun with much art and industry is suddenly disfigured, and swept away with the light touch of a besom. How oft have we been resolved to sin, and prepared to sin, and even at the pit's brink, ready to cast ourselves into hell, when He hath plucked us away, as He plucked Lot out of Sodom, by affrightments of natural conscience, by apprehensions of dangers, by taking away the opportunities, by ministering impediments, by shortening our power, by sundry other means. Have we now blessed the Name of God for affording us these gracious means of prevention and restraint? Nay, have we not rather been enraged thereat, and taken it with much impatience, that we should be so crossed in the pursuit of our vain and sinful desires and purposes? As wayward children cry and take pet, when the nurse snatcheth a knife from them, wherewith they might perhaps cut their fingers, perhaps haggle* their throats; or putteth them back from the well's mouth when they are ready, with catching at babies in the water, to type over;† and as that merry madman in the Poet was in good earnest angry with his friends, for procuring him to be cured of his madness wherein he so much pleased himself, as if they could not have done him a greater displeasure, ... *Pol me occidistis, amici, ... Non servastis ...*:§ such is our folly. We are offended with those that reprove us, testy at those that hinder us, impatient under those crosses that disable us: yea, we fret and turn again at the powerful application of the holy Word of God, when it endeavoureth to reform us or restrain us from those evils wherein we delight. Let us henceforth mend this fault, cheerfully submit ourselves to the discipline of the Almighty, and learn of holy David with

Gen. xix. 16.

* 'haggle,' *hack, mangle.* Compare Shakspeare, Henry V. iv. 6. 'York all haggled o'er.'

† 'to type over.' Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia gives 'to tipe,' to kick up, or *fall headlong*, from being top-heavy. In the Appendix to the Hallamshire Glossary, 'to tipe over' is explained 'to fall or overturn.' In the Craven Glossary, 'to tipe over,' is to swoon, 'to tipe off,' is to die; and 'a tipe' is that kind of mousetrap which lets its victim fall into a bason of water. Mr. Halliwell gives 'tipe-stick' as still in use in Lincolnshire for 'the piece of wood which, reaching from shaft to shaft, keeps the body of a cart in its place, and prevents it from *typing* up or over.'

§ Horat. Epist. II. ii. [138.]

what affections to entertain the gracious means He vouchsafeth us of restraint or prevention; as appeareth by his speeches unto Abigail, when she by her wisdom had pacified his wrath against Nabal, whose destruction he had a little before vowed in his heat: *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which sent thee this day to meet me; and blessed be thy advice, and blessed be thou, which hast kept me this day from coming to shed blood, and from avenging myself with mine own hand.* He blessed God as the cause, and her as the instrument, and her discreet behaviour and advice as the means, of staying his hand from doing that evil he had vowed with his mouth, and was in his heart purposed to have done. 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33.

§. 43. 3°. To pray unto God to restrain our corruptions.

43. Thirdly, since we owe our standing to the hand of God, who holdeth us up, without whose restraint we should fall at every turn and into every temptation, we cannot but see what need we have to seek to Him daily and hourly to withhold us from falling into those sins, whereunto either our corrupt nature would lead us, or outward occasions draw us. We may see it by the fearful falls of David and Peter, men nothing inferior to the best of us, how weak a thing man is to resist temptation, if God withdraw His support, and leave him but a little to himself. Which made David pray to God that He would keep back His servant *from presumptuous sins.* He well knew, though he were the faithful servant of God, that yet he had no stay of himself; but, unless God kept him back, he must on, and he must in, and he must in deep, even as far as to presumptuous sins. No man, though he be never so good, hath any assurance, as upon his own strength, though it be never so great, that he shall be able to avoid any sin, though it be never so foul. When a Heathen man prayed unto Jupiter to save him from his enemies, one that overheard him would needs mend it with a more needful prayer, that Jupiter would save him from his friends: he thought they might do him more hurt, because he trusted them; but, as for his enemies, he could look to himself well enough, for receiving harm from them. We that are Christians had need pray unto the God of Heaven, that He would not give us up into the hands of our professed enemies, and to pray unto God, that He would not deliver us over into the hands of our false-hearted friends; but there is another prayer yet more needful, Ps. xix. 13.

and to be pressed with greater importunity than either of both, that God would save us from ourselves, and not give us up into our own hands; for then we are utterly cast away. There is a wayward *old man* that lurketh in every of our bosoms; and we make but too much of him, than whom we have not a more spiteful enemy, nor a more false friend. Alas, we do not think what a man is given over to, that is given over to himself: he is given over to vile affections; he is given over to *a reprobate sense;** he is given over to commit all manner of wickedness with greediness. It is the last and fearfullest of all other judgments, and is not usually brought upon men but where they have obstinately refused to hear the voice of God in whatsoever other tone He had spoken unto them, then to leave them to themselves and to their own counsels. *My people would not hear my voice, and Israel would none of me: so I gave them up unto their own hearts' lust, and let them follow their own imaginations.* As we conceive the state of the patient to be desperate, when the physician giveth him over, and letteth him eat, and drink, and have, and do, what, and when, and as much as he will, without prescribing him any diet, or keeping back any thing from him he hath a mind unto. Let us therefore pray faithfully and fervently unto God, as Christ Himself hath taught us, that He would not, by leaving us unto ourselves, lead us into temptation, but by His gracious and powerful support deliver us from all those evils, from which we have no power at all to deliver ourselves.

Rom. i. 26.
Verse 28.
Eph. iv. 19.
Ps. lxxxi. 11, 12.
S. Matt. vi. 13.

§. 44. 4°. To labour for the grace of Sanctification.

44. Lastly, since this Restraint whereof we have spoken may be but a common grace, and can give us no sound nor solid comfort if it be but a bare restraint and no more, though we ought to be thankful for it, because we have not deserved it; yet we should not rest, nor think ourselves safe enough, till we have a well-grounded assurance that we are possessed of an higher and a better grace, even the grace of sanctification. For that will hold out against temptations, where this may fail. We may deceive ourselves then, and thousands in the world do so deceive themselves, if, upon our abstaining from sins from which God withholdeth us, we presently con-

* Rom. i. 28. *reprobate sense,* Rhemish Testament.

clude ourselves to be in the state of grace, and to have the power of godliness and the spirit of sanctification. For, between this restraining grace, whereof we have now spoken, and that renewing grace whereof we now speak, there are sundry wide differences. They differ, first, in their fountain. Renewing grace springeth from the special love of God towards those that are His in Christ: restraining grace is a fruit of that general mercy of God, whereof it is said in the Psalm, that *His mercy is over all His works.* They differ, secondly, in their extent, both of person, subject, object, and time. For the person, restraining grace is common to good and bad; renewing grace proper and peculiar to the elect.* For the subject, restraining grace may bind one part or faculty of a man, as the hand or tongue, and leave another free, as the heart or ear; renewing grace worketh upon all in some measure, sanctifieth the whole man, body, and soul, and spirit, with all the parts and faculties of each. For the object, restraining grace may withhold a man from one sin, and give him scope to another; renewing grace carrieth an equal and just respect to all God's Commandments. For the time, restraining grace may tie us now, and by and by unloose us; renewing grace holdeth out unto the end, more or less, and never leaveth us wholly destitute.† Thirdly, they differ in their ends. Restraining grace is so intended chiefly for the good of human society, especially of the Church of God and of the members thereof, as that indifferently it may, or may not, do good to the receiver; but renewing grace is especially

Ps. cxlv. 9.

1 Thess. v. 23.

* The change in Sanderson's Theological Views, which dates from 1625, already noticed, Sermon i. ad Clerum, §. 29. and Sermon i. ad Populum, §§. 6, 26, cannot, in the first instance, have been absolute and entire. The language in the close of this Sermon is, once and again, more in keeping with the tone of the Lambeth Articles than with the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Church of England. Compare, for example, with this restriction of renewing grace to the elect, the Seventh of those Articles: 'Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men by which they may be saved if they will.' Yet it is to be observed that, in conclusion, all Sanderson's hearers, irrespectively of God's counsel secret to us, are, one and all, called upon to strive after renewal, to love God, and wrestle against secret corruptions.

† The indefectibility of grace was strongly asserted in the fifth of the Lambeth Articles. 'A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, neither finally nor totally.'

intended for the Salvation of the receiver, though *ex consequenti* it do good also unto others. They differ, fourthly, and lastly, in their effects. Renewing grace mortifieth the corruption, and subdueth it, and diminisheth it, as water quencheth fire, by abating the heat; but restraining grace only inhibiteth the exercise of the corruption for the time, without any real diminution of it either in substance or quality, as the
Dan. iii. 25. fire, wherein the Three Children walked, had as much heat in it at that very instant as it had before and after, although, by the greater power of God, the natural power of it was then suspended from working upon them. The lions that spared Daniel were lions still, and had their ravenous disposition still,
vi. 22. albeit God stopped their mouths for that time, that they should not hurt him; but that there was no change made in their natural disposition appeareth by their entertainment of their next guests, whom they devoured with all greediness,
Ibid. 24. breaking their bones before they came to the ground. By these two instances and examples, we may in some measure conceive of the nature and power of the restraining grace of God in wicked men. It bridleth the corruption that is in them for the time, that it cannot break out, and manacleth them in such sort that they do not show forth the ungodly disposition of their heart; but there is no real change wrought in them all the while, their heart still remaining unsanctified, and their natural corruption undiminished. Whereas the renewing and sanctifying grace of God, by a real change, of a lion maketh a lamb; altereth the natural disposition of the soul, by draining out some of the corruption; begetteth a new heart, a new spi-
Ephes. iv. 24. rit, new habits, new qualities, new dispositions, new thoughts, new desires, maketh a new man in every part and faculty, completely new. Content not thyself then with a bare forbearance of sin, so long as thy heart is not changed, nor thy will changed, nor thy affections changed; but strive to become a new man, to
Rom. xii. 2. be transformed by the renewing of thy mind, to hate sin, to love God, to wrestle against thy secret corruptions, to take delight in holy duties, to subdue thine understanding and will and affections to the obedience of faith and godliness. So shalt thou not only be restrained from sinning against God, as Abimelech here was, but also be enabled, as faithful Abraham was, to please God; and consequently assured, with

all the faithful children of Abraham, to be *preserved by the* almighty *power of God through faith unto Salvation.* Which Grace, and Faith, and Salvation, the same Almighty God, the God of Power and of Peace, bestow upon us all here assembled, *with all that in every place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours,* even for the same our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, His most dear Son, and our blessed Saviour and Redeemer: to which blessed Father, and blessed Son, with the blessed Spirit, most holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, be ascribed, by us and the whole Church, all the kingdom, the power, and the glory, from this time forth and for ever. Amen.

1 S. Peter i. 5.

1 Cor. i. 2.

The Date of the following Dedication indicates that the Seventh Sermon ad Populum was prepared for the press early in 1635. From the Date of the Imprimatur and Title Page, it appears that no inconsiderable delay took place in its actual publication.

TWO

SERMONS:

THE FORMER,

CONCERNING THE

right use of *Christian Liberty*,

PREACHED

At St PAUL'S CROSSE LONDON,

May 6.

THE LATER, CONCERNING

the perswasion of *Conscience*,

PREACHED

At a Metropoliticall visitation at GRANTHAM LINCOLN: *Aug.* 22. 1634.

By ROBERT SAUNDERSON Chaplaine to his MAJESTIE.

Perlegi has duas Conciones, in quibus nihil reperio bonis moribus aut sanae doctrinae contrarium, quo minus cum utilitate publica imprimantur, ita tamen, ut si non intra tres menses proxime sequentes typis mandentur, haec licentia sit omnino irrita.

GUIL: BRAY.

Dat' Lambethae Jun. 17. 1635.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. B.* for *R. Dawlman* and *L. Fawne* at the signe of the Brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard.

1636.

To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

I HAVE been ever willing, most Reverend Father in God, as at all other times upon just occasion, so especially when called to preach at any public meeting of the Clergy, to vindicate the Government

and Rites established in the Church of England from the unjust aspersions, which in this last age have been, and still are, cast thereon by ill-affected spirits, with a great deal more noise than is cause. Not any way to comply, further than duty and reason require, with the times, which is the ready objection against this course in every mouth: God pardon their uncharitableness and unrighteousness who so misjudge! but out of an earnest, and, as I hope, sincere, desire of advancing the peace of this flourishing Church and State: wishing unfeignedly, that all we who live in the visible communion of the same body as brethren might also, as brethren, so far as were possible, *with one mind and one mouth glorify* Rom. xv. 6. *God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* It was no other than this very desire that gave these two Sermons their first light; nor is it any other thing now that bringeth them into further light, than the possibility, if not rather hope, of producing some good effect that way. For as it is at all times in the hand of GOD, so is it many times His good pleasure also, to bless well meant though weak endeavours, far beyond the proportion of their worth. I know there are some ἄτακτοι, and ἀνυπότακτοι, men that will not be brought into 1 Thess. v. order by any means, nor satisfied with any reason, so perversely- 14. Titus i. 10. minded are they, and so stiffened in their resolutions: who albeit they deserve very little regard otherwise, yet even in respect of them also it is requisite that the truth in these points should be sometimes opened, either to stop their mouths from clamouring, if Ibid. 11. it may be, or at leastwise, if they will needs be doing, to render their obstinacy the more inexcusable. But it is principally requisite for those men's sakes, and in compassion to their souls, whose honest simplicity hath been abused, and their weak consciences misguided by such Incendiaries, that they may be better informed; and partly also for the confirmation of those that are regular, that they may continue in their right minds, and not suffer themselves to be wrested out of their good belief by the cunning engines of those that are chief factors for the faction. To any of which ends if, by God's good Blessing, these my slender labours shall lend the least furtherance, it shall nothing repent me to have published them. But this is all I am able to say for them onwards:* first, for the arguments, that I made choice to entreat of such as to me

* 'onwards.' See Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 41.

seemed very useful for these licentious times, wherein too too* many plead Liberty and Conscience, in bar to Loyalty and Obedience; and then, for the manner of handling the same, that I gave all diligence to deliver myself in the spirit of truth and of meekness: that is to say, with all clear evidence of reason, but without all either gall of bitterness or leaven of partiality. However, such as they are, I humbly present to the Service of God and His Church, under your Grace's protection; as unto whom, by a double title, they most properly belong. First, for that they were both preached by appointment from your Grace: the former, in the City, when you were Lord Bishop of London;† the other, in the Country, at your late Metropolitical Visitation;‡ and to what hand should they rather return, than to that that first occasioned their being? As also, for that they tend to the suppressing of Novelties and to the preservation of Order and Peace, of both which you are most zealous, in that Church wherein, under God and the King, you worthily sit at the stern. The God of Heaven multiply His blessings upon you, prosper the affairs of His Church in your hands, that Truth and Peace may flourish therein more and more; and remember you according to all the good deeds you either have already done, or intend further to do for His House and for the prosperity thereof. So prayeth

Your Grace's in all

Humble service,

ROBERT SANDERSON.

Boothby Paynell, Linc.
4 Febr. 1624. §

* 'too too.' See Sermon i. ad Aulam, §. 5, and Sermon i. ad Populum, §. 29.

† See Sermon v. above, p. 145.

‡ See Sermon iv. ad Clerum, vol. ii. p. 107.

§ '1624.' So in the original Edition, by a palpable error for 1634, that is, according to our present mode of reckoning, 1635.

SERMON VII.

AT ST. PAUL'S CROSS, LONDON, 6 MAY, 1632.

1 S. Peter ii. 16.

As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.

§. 1. The Scope,

THERE is not any thing in the world more generally desired than Liberty, nor scarce any thing more generally abused. Insomuch as even that blessed Liberty which the Eternal Son of God hath purchased for His spouse the Church, and endowed her therewithal, hath in no age been free from abuses, whilst some have sinfully neglected their Christian Liberty, to their own prejudice, and otherwise have as sinfully stood upon it, to the prejudice of their brethren. So hardly, through pride, and ignorance, and other corruptions that abound in us, do we hit upon the golden mean, either in this, or almost in any thing else; but easily swerve into the vicious extremes of both hands, declining sometimes into the defect, and sometimes into the excess. The Apostles therefore, especially St. Peter and St. Paul, the two chiefest planters of the Churches, endeavoured early to instruct believers in the true doctrine, and to direct them in the right use of their Christian Liberty, so often in their several Epistles as fit occasion was offered thereunto. Which we may observe them to have done most frequently and fully in those two cases, which, being very common, are therefore of the greater consequence, viz. the case of Scandal, and the case of Obedience.

§. 2. Occasion,

2. And we may further observe concerning these two Apostles, that St. Paul usually toucheth upon this argument of Liberty, as it is to be exercised in the case of Scandal, but St. Peter oftener, as in the case of Obedience. Whereof, on St. Peter's part, I conceive the reason to be this, that being the Apostle of the Circumcision, and so having to deal most with the Jews, who could not brook subjection, but were of all

Gal. ii. 7.

nations under Heaven the most impatient of a foreign yoke,[a] he was therefore the more careful to deliver the doctrine of Christian Liberty to them in such a manner, as might frame them withal to yield such reverence and obedience to their Governors as became them to do. And therefore St. Peter beateth much upon the point of Obedience.

§. 3. and Coherence of the Text.

3. But he nowhere presseth it more fully than in this chapter, wherein, after the general exhortations of subduing the lusts that are in their own bosoms, verse 11, and of ordering their conversation so as might be for their credit and honesty in the sight of others, verse 12, when he descendeth to more particular duties, he beginneth first with, and insisteth most upon, this duty of subjection and obedience to authority, in the greatest remaining part of the chapter. The first precept he giveth in this kind is set down with sundry amplifications and reasons thereunto belonging, in the next verses before the Text, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake:* and then he doth, by way of *prolepsis*, take away an objection, which he foresaw would readily be made against that and the following exhortations, from the pretext of Christian Liberty, in the words of the Text, *As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.*

§. 4. The Text paraphrased, S. John viii. 36.

4. Conceive the words as spoken in answer to what those new converts might have objected. 'We have been taught that the Son of God hath made us free, and then we are *free indeed*, and so not bound to subject ourselves to any masters or governors upon earth, no, not to Kings; but much rather bound not to do it, that so we may preserve that freedom which Christ hath purchased for us, and reserve ourselves the more entirely for God's service, by refusing to be the servants of men.' This objection the Apostle clearly taketh off in the Text, with much holy wisdom and truth. He telleth them, that being indeed set at liberty by Christ, they are not therefore any more to enthrall themselves to any living soul or other

[a] Seditiosissima gens. Jos. Scaliger. not. in Luc. xxii. 52. [Στρατηγῶν τοῦ ναοῦ. Josephus meminit. In solemnibus ipse Στρατηγός disponebat praesidium et excubias circa templum, ne tumultus ullus a seditiosissima illa gente oriretur. Nov. Test. cum Notis et Animadversionibus Doctissimorum, praesertim vero R. Stephani, Jos. Scaligeri, et Is. Casauboni. 8°. Lond. ap. Jo. Billium, Typogr. Reg. 1622.]

creature; not to submit to any ordinance of man as slaves, that is, as if the ordinance itself did by any proper, direct, and immediate virtue bind the conscience. But yet, all this notwithstanding, they might and ought to submit thereunto as the Lord's freemen, and in a free manner, that is, by a voluntary and uninforced both subjection to their power, and obedience to their lawful commands. They must therefore take heed they use not their *liberty for an occasion to the flesh*, nor under so fair a title palliate an evil licentiousness, making that a cloak for their irreverent and undutiful carriage towards their superiours. For albeit they be not the servants of men but of God, and therefore owe no obedience to men as upon immediate tye of conscience, and for their own sake, but to God only, yet for His sake, and out of the conscience of that obedience which they owe to His command of honouring father and mother, and of being subject to the higher powers, they ought to give unto them such honour and obedience, as of right belongeth unto them according to the eminency of their high places. *As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.*

1 Cor. vii. 22. Exod. xx. 12. Rom. xiii. 1.

5. From which words thus paraphrased I gather three Observations, all concerning our Christian Liberty, in that branch of it especially which respecteth human ordinances, and the use of the creatures, and of all indifferent things. Either, 1°. in the existence of it, *As free;* or, 2°. in the exercise of it, *And not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness;* or, 3°. in the end of it, *but as the servants of God.* The first observation this: We must so submit ourselves to superiour authority, as that we do not thereby impeach our Christian Liberty: *As free.* The second, this: We must so maintain our Liberty, as that we do not under that colour either commit any sin, or omit any requisite office either of charity or duty: *And not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness.* The third, this: In the whole exercise both of the Liberty we have in Christ, and of the respects we owe unto men, we must evermore remember ourselves to be, and accordingly behave ourselves as those that are God's servants: *but as the servants of God.* The sum of the whole three points in brief this: We must be careful, without either infringing or abusing our Liberty, at all times and in all things, to serve God.

§. 5. and divided

§. 6. Observation I. collected: That Christian Liberty

6. Now then to the several points in that order as I have proposed them, and as they lie in the Text. Ὡς ἐλεύθεροι. *As free.* Which words have manifest reference to the exhortation delivered three verses before the Text, as declaring the manner how the duty there exhorted unto ought to be performed: yet so as that the force of them stretcheth to the exhortations also contained in the verses next after the Text. Submit yourselves to public governours both supreme and subordinate, be subject to your own particular masters, honour all men with those proper respects that belong to them in their several stations; but look you do all this ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, not as slaves, but as free: do it without impeachment of the Liberty you have in Christ. Of which Liberty, it would be a profitable labour, but that I should then be forced to omit sundry other things which I deem needful to be spoken, and more nearly pertinent to the points proposed, to discover at large the nature, and parts, and causes, and effects, and adjuncts: that we might the better understand the amplitude of that dower which Christ hath settled upon His Church, and thence learn to be the more careful to preserve it. But I may not have time so to do. It shall therefore suffice us to know that, as the other branches of our liberty, whether of glory or grace, whether from the guilt of sin in our Justification, or from the dominion of sin in our Sanctification, with the several appendices and appurtenances to any of them, so this branch of it also which respects the use of indifferent things, first, is purchased for us by the blood of Christ, and is therefore usually called by the name of Christian Liberty. Secondly, is revealed unto us outwardly in the preaching of the Gospel of God and of Christ, which is therefore called *the Law of Liberty.* And, thirdly, is conveyed unto us inwardly and effectually by the operation of the Spirit of God and of Christ, which is therefore called a *free Spirit,* (*O stablish Thou me with Thy free Spirit,*) because, *where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.*

S. John viii. 36. Gal. v. 1. S. James i. 25. ii. 12. Ps. li. 12. 2 Cor. iii. 17.

§. 7. ought to be maintained: with the proofs thereof, Gal. v. 1.

7. Now this Liberty, so dearly purchased, so clearly revealed, so firmly conveyed, it is our duty to maintain with our utmost strength in all the parts and branches of it, and, as the Apostle exhorteth, to *stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free,* and not to suffer ourselves, either by the devices of other men, or by our own sloth and wilful

default, to be *entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* And, namely,* in this particular branch whereof we now speak, whatsoever serviceable offices we do to any of our brethren, especially to those that are in authority, we must perform our duty therein with all cheerfulness of spirit, and for conscience' sake, but still with freedom of spirit, and with liberty of conscience, as being servants to God alone, and not to men. We find therefore in the Scriptures a peremptory charge both ways, that we neither usurp mastership, nor undergo servitude. A charge given by our Saviour Christ to His Disciples in the former behalf, that they should not be called Rabbi, neither Masters, and a charge given by the Apostle Paul to all believers in the latter behalf, that they should not be servants of men.

S. Matthew xxiii. 8, 10. 1 Cor. vii. 23.

8. God forbid any man of us, possessed with an Anabaptistical spirit, or rather frenzy, should understand either of those passages, or any other of like sound, as if Christ or His Apostle had had any purpose therein to slacken those sinews and ligaments, and to dissolve those joints and contignations, which tye into one body, and clasp into one structure, those many little members and parts whereof all human societies consist:[b] that is to say, to forbid all those mutual relations of superiority and subjection which are in the world, and so to turn all into a vast chaos of anarchy and confusion. For such a meaning is contrarious to the express determination of Christ, and to the constant doctrine of St. Paul in other places; and we ought so to interpret the Scriptures as that one place may consist with another, without clashing or contradiction. The true and plain meaning is this, that we must not acknowledge any our supreme Master, nor yield ourselves to be wholly and absolutely ruled by the will of any, nor enthrall our judgments and consciences to the sentences or laws of any man or angel, but only Christ, our Lord and Master in Heaven.

§. 8. Cleared from misconstruction,

S. Matthew xxii. 21. Rom. xiii. 1, &c. Eph. vi. 5. Col. iii. 22.

9. And this interpretation is very consonant to the analogy of Scripture in sundry places. In Ephesians vi., to omit other

§. 9. by a twofold distinction

* 'namely,' *especially*. Compare Sermon vi. ad Aulam, §. 27.

[b] Non enim venit Christus conditiones mutare. Hieron. in Eph. vi. [5. The Commentary here quoted is certainly not S. Jerome's. There has been thought to be good reason for attributing it to Pelagius. See Vallarsi's edition, xi. 835.]

of Masters: the former, places, there are two distinctions implied, the one in the fifth, the other in the seventh verses, both of right good use for the reconciling of sundry Texts that seem to contradict one another, and for the clearing of sundry difficulties in the present argument. *Servants*, saith St. Paul there, *be obedient to them that are your Masters according to the flesh.* Which limitation affordeth us the distinction of Masters *according to the flesh*[c] only, and of Masters *after the spirit* also. Intimating that we may have other Masters of our flesh, to whom we may, and must, give due reverence, so far as concerneth the flesh, that is, so far as appertaineth to the outward man and all outward things. But of our spirits and souls and consciences, as we can have no fathers, so we may have no masters upon earth, but only our Master and our Father which is in Heaven. And therefore Christ forbiddeth the calling of any man upon earth father, as well as He doth the calling of any man master. And both the prohibitions are to be understood alike, and as hath been now declared.

Eph. vi. 5.

S. Matthew xxiii. 9.

§. 10. the latter. Eph. vi. 7.

10. Again, saith St. Paul there, *with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men;* which opposition importeth a second distinction, and that is of Masters, into supreme, and subordinate. Those are subordinate Masters, to whom we do service *in ordine ad alium*, and as under another. Those are supreme Masters, in whom our obedience resteth in the final resolution of it, without looking further or higher. Men may be our Masters, and we their servants, the first way, with subordination to God, and for His sake.[d] And we must do them service, and that with good will; but with reservation ever of our bounden service to Him, as our only supreme Sovereign and absolute Master. But, the latter way, it is high sacrilege in any man to challenge, and it is high treason against the sacred majesty of God and of Christ for us to yield to any other but them, the Mastership, that is, the sovereign and absolute Mastership, over us.

[c] ... secundum carnem: quia est Dominus secundum spiritum. Ille est verus Dominus... Augustin. in Ps. cxxiv. [tom. iv. 1415 D. ed. Ben. Paris. 1681.]

[d] Distinguebant Dominum aeternum a [domino] temporali; et tamen subditi erant, propter Dominum aeternum, etiam domino temporali. Augustin. in Ps. cxxiv. [ibid. 1416 C.]

11. Briefly, we must not understand those Scriptures that forbid either Mastership or servitude, as if they intended to discharge us from those mutual obligations, wherein, either in nature or civility, we stand tied one to another, in the state Oeconomical, Political, or Ecclesiastical, as anon it shall further appear; but only to beget in us a just care, amidst all the offices of love and duty which we perform to men, to preserve inviolate that Liberty which we have in Christ, and so to do them service as to maintain withal our own freedom ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, *as free.* §. 11. Of our care in this point.

12. A thing whereof it behoveth us to have a special care, and that for sundry and weighty respects. First, in regard of the trust reposed in us in this behalf. Every honest man taketh himself bound to discharge with faithfulness the trust reposed in him,[e] and to preserve what is committed unto him by way of trust, though it be another man's, no less, if not rather much more carefully, than he would do if it were his own;[f] that so he may be able to give a good account of his trust. Now these two, the Christian Faith, and the Christian Liberty, are, of all other, the choicest jewels whereof the Lord Jesus Christ hath made His Church the depositary. Every man therefore in the Church ought earnestly to contend, as for the maintenance of *the Faith*, as St. Jude speaketh, so also for the maintenance of the Liberty, *which was once delivered to the Saints*, even *eo nomine*, and for that very reason, because they were both delivered unto them under such a trust. *O Timothee, depositum custodi:* St. Paul more than once calleth upon Timothy to keep that which was committed to his trust. He meaneth it in respect of the Christian Faith, which he was bound to keep entire as it was delivered him, at his peril, and as he would answer it another day. And the like obligation lieth upon us, in respect of this other rich *depositum*, this παρακαταθήκη of Christian Liberty, for which we shall be answerable[g] to Christ, from whom we received it, how we have both kept it and used it. And if by our default, and for want either §. 12. Sundry Reasons: the first, S. Jude, verse 3. 1 Tim. vi. 20. 2 Tim. i. 14.

[e] ... religiosus homo sanctusque diligenter et circumspecte solet tueri fidei commissa. Seneca, de Tranquill. c. 11.

[f] Nisi ad suum modum curam in deposito praestat, fraude non caret. l. 32. ff. de Deposito. [Digest. XVI. Tit. iii. Lex. 32.]

[g] Παρακαταθήκην λαβών, δικαίως ἀπόδος. Pittaci dictum apud Stob. Serm. 1. [9. 34. tom. i. 241. ed. Gaisford.]

of care or courage in us, *dolo vel lata culpa*, as the Lawyers say, we lose or embezzle * it, as she said in the Canticles, *They made me the keeper of the vineyard, but mine own vineyard have I not kept*, no doubt, it will lie heavy upon us when we come to give in our accounts. Rather we should put on a resolution like that of Moses, who would not yield to leave so much as an hoof behind him, not to part with a jot of that Liberty wherewith Christ hath entrusted us, by making ourselves the servants of men.

Cant. i. 6.

Exod. x. 26.

§. 13. the second,

13. Especially since we cannot so do, secondly, without manifest wrong to Christ, nor, thirdly, without great dishonour to God. Not without wrong to Christ. St. Paul therefore disputeth it as upon a ground of right, *Ye are bought with a price*, saith he, *be ye not the servants of men;* and in the next chapter before that, *Ye are not your own, for you are bought with a price.* As if he had said, Though it were a great weakness in you to put yourselves out of your own power into the power of others, by making yourselves their servants, yet if you were your own, there should be no injury done thereby to any third person; but unto whomsoever should complain as if he were wronged, you might return this reasonable answer, *Friend, I do thee no wrong: is it not lawful for me to do as I will with mine own?* But, saith he, this is not your case: you are not your own, but Christ's. He hath bought you with His most precious blood, He hath paid a valuable, rather an invaluable, price for you; and having bought you and paid for you, you are now His; and you cannot dispose yourselves in any other service without apparent wrong to Him.

1 Cor. vii. 23.

1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.

S. Matt. xx. 13–15.

§. 14. the third,

14. Neither only do we injure Christ, by making ourselves the servants of men, but we dishonour God also: which is a third reason. For to whom we make ourselves servants, him we make our Lord and God. The covetous worldling therefore, by serving Mammon, maketh Mammon his God, which made St. Paul two several times to set the brand of idolatry upon covetousness, *the covetous man, which is an idolater*, Eph. v. 5, and *covetousness, which is idolatry*, Col. iii. 5. And the voluptuous epicure is therefore said to make his belly his God, Phil. iii. 19. because he serveth his own belly, as the phrase

S. Matt. vi. 24.

* This word is written 'imbeazell,' and 'imbezel' in the previous editions.

is, Rom. xvi. 18. Neither can I imagine upon what other ground the devil should be called *the god of this world*, than this, that 2 Cor. iv. 4. ὅλος ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῷ Πονηρῷ, the men of this evil world by doing 1 S. John v. 19. him service do so make a god of him. For service is a principal part of that honour that belongeth to God alone, and whereof in His jealousy He will not endure that any part should be given away from Him to another: *Ipsi soli servies, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt* S. Matthew iv. 10. *thou serve.* We cannot serve any other but to His great dishonour.

15. Yea and our own too, which may stand for a fourth §. 15. the fourth, reason. *Ye see your calling, brethren,* saith the Apostle. He 1 Cor. i. 26. would have men take notice of their Christian calling, (it is a holy and a high calling,) that so they might walk worthy of it, Eph. iv. 1. and carry themselves in every respect answerably thereunto. Now by our calling we are freemen; *for, brethren, you have* Gal. v. 13. *been called unto Liberty,* or, which is all one, to the service of God. And being so, we infinitely abase ourselves, and disparage our calling, when of freemen we become slaves, and make ourselves of God's, men's servants. Incomparably more to our own dishonour, than if one that is free of a rich company, and hath borne office in it, should for base respects bind himself apprentice again with a master of poor condition in some pelting * trade. It is *diminutio capitis,*[h] as the Civilians call it, for a man to descend from a higher to a lower condition: of the three degrees whereof that is esteemed the greatest, *maxima diminutio capitis,* which is with loss of Liberty. Leo the Emperor therefore, by special and severe constitution, as you may see it in the Novels,[i] forbad all freemen within the Empire the sale of their liberties, calling it *facinus* in those that were so presumptuous as to buy them, and no less than

* 'pelting,' *petty, paltry.* Compare Ascham's Schoolmaster, p. 181. Lond. 1711. 'pelting matters, such as in London commonly come to the hearing of the masters of Bridewell.' Shakspeare, Troilus and Cressida, iv. 5. We have had pelting wars, since you refused The Grecians' cause.' Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 1. 'every pelting river.' And Beaumont and Fletcher, King and no King, iv. 'This pelting prating Peace is good for nothing.' Beggar's Bush, iv. 1. 'Pay the poor pelting knaves, that know no goodness.'

[h] Vid. Paul. ff. de Capit. Diminut. [Digest. Vet. lib. iv. tit. 5.]

[i] Leo, Novell. Constit. 59. [ad calcem Justiniani Imp. Edict. p. 11. Antverp. 1575.]

folly, yea, madness, *dementia* and *vesania*, in those that were so base as to sell them: not without some indignation at the former Laws, for suffering such an indignity to be so long practised without either chastisement or restraint. And if he justly censured them as men of abject minds,[k] that would, for any consideration in the world, willingly forego their civil and Roman Liberty, what flatness of spirit possesseth us, if we wilfully betray our Christian and spiritual Liberty!

§. 16. and the fifth.

16. Whereby, besides the dishonour, we do also, which is the fifth reason, and whereunto I will add no more, with our own hands pull upon our own heads a great deal of unnecessary cumber.* For whereas we might draw an easy yoke, carry a light burden, observe commandments that are not grievous, and so live at much heart's ease in the service of God and of Christ, by putting ourselves into the service of men we thrust our necks into a hard yoke[l] of bondage, such as neither we nor any of our fathers were ever able to bear; we lay upon our own shoulders φορτία βαρέα καὶ δυσβάστακτα, *heavy and importable burdens*;† and subject ourselves to ordinances, which are both grievous and unprofitable; and such are so far from preserving those that use them from perishing, that themselves *perish in the using*.

S. Matthew xi. 30. 1 S. John v. 3. Col. ii. 22.

§. 17. Christian Liberty encroached upon by Papal usurpations,

17. Now against this Liberty, which, if we will answer the trust reposed in us, and neither wrong Christ, nor dishonour God, nor yet debase and encumber ourselves where we should not, we must with our utmost power maintain, the offenders are of two sorts, to wit, such as either injuriously encroach upon the Liberty of others, or else unworthily betray away their own. The most notorious of the former sort are the Bishops of Rome, whose usurpations upon the consciences of men show them to be the true successors of the Scribes and Pharisees, in laying heavy burdens upon men's shoulders which they ought not, and in rejecting the Word of God to establish their own traditions, rather than the successors of St. Peter, who forbiddeth *dominatum in Cleris*, in the last chapter of

S. Matthew xxiii. 4. S. Mark vii. 9. 1 S. Pet. v. 3.

[k] ... qui tam ignavi et abjecti animi est ... ibid.

* 'cumber,' *trouble, vexation*. Thus fade thy helps, and thus thy cumbers spring. Fairfax, Translation of Tasso, ii. 73.]

[l] μετρία δὲ ἡ Θεῷ δουλεία· ἄμετρος δὲ ἡ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Plato ap. Stobaeum, Ser. 46. [48. 59. Gaisford. et 62. 49.]

† *heavy burdens and importable*, Rhemish Testament.

this Epistle, at the third verse. To teach their own judgments to be infallible, to make their definitions an universal and unerring Rule of Faith; to style their decrees and constitutions Oracles, to assume to themselves all power in Heaven and earth, to require subjection both to their laws and persons as of necessity unto Salvation, to suffer themselves to be called by their parasites *Dominus Deus noster Papa*,[m] and *Optimum*,

[m] Gloss. [final.] in Extravag. Johann. XXII. Tit. xiv. cap. iv. Cum inter: [Credere autem Dominum Deum nostrum Papam, conditorem dictae Decretalis, et istius, sic non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, haereticum censeretur. The MS. in the Vatican and some editions have 'Dominum nostrum Papam.' See Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 130. But the word 'Deum' was retained in the revised edition of the Canon Law, sanctioned by Gregory XIII, in 1582, and appears in the Lyons editions of 1584 and 1606, and in the Paris editions of 1585, 1601, and 1612. See Gieseler's Church History, Third Period, Div. iv. chap. i. §. 101. For more information in reference to this particular expression, compare Dr. Jelf's note on Jewel's Works, ii. 197, and Mr. Gibbing's note on Calfhill's Answer to Martiall, pp. 5, 6.

Sanderson's statement generally is borne out by such passages as the following. 'Dicitur etiam Judex universalis, *Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium*, [Apoc. xix. 16. Vulg.] eo quod ejus potestas a Deo est, et nullum habet superiorem nisi Deum.' Mosconius de Majestate Militantis Ecclesiae, p. 26. Venet. 1602. 'Non solum omnis fidelis populus, verum etiam infidelis, ac omnis rationalis creatura Papae imperio subjacet, et nemini eum impugnare permittitur, immo, ab omnibus venerandus est, et singuli eidem obedientiam praestare tenentur.' ibid. p. 96. 'Idem est quod dicitur Lib. i. Sententiarum, Dist. 42. ubi dicitur Deum omnia posse praeter ea sola per quae dignitas ejus laederetur: ergo nec Papa, cujus potestas divina est.' Zabarella, Tract. de Schism. Pontif. in Simon Scharde's Sylloge Historico-Politico-Ecclesiastica, p. 242 B. Argentorat. 1618. This passage is the more remarkable, because Zabarella condemned other expressions. See Jelf's ed. of Jewel, vi. p. 96. 'Summi Pontificis tanta est sublimitas et eminentia, tanta immensitas, ut nullus mortalium nedum comprehendere aut satis exprimere, sed nec cogitare possit.' Chassanaeus, Catalog. Gloriae Mundi, Pars iv. Consid. 7. p. 173. Aug. Taurin. 1617. 'Videtur quod honor, qui debetur Christo, secundum quod Deus, debeatur Papae, quia honor debetur potestati; sed una est potestas Christi, secundum quod Deus, et Papae. ... Praeterea, Latria est servitus debita soli Deo, ... sed omnis servitus debetur Papae. Ergo omnis honor, qui debetur Deo, debetur sibi... Sacrificium est ille singularis honor et illa singularis servitus, quae sic debetur Christo, secundum quod Deus, quod non debetur Papae, nec alicui purae creaturae.' Aug. Triumphus, Summa de Potest. Eccles. pp. 71, 72. Rom. 1582. 'Romanus Pontifex, qui Regis aeterni, rerumque et finium omnium Conditoris locum, licet imparibus meritis, tenet in terris.' Monitorium Julii II. contra Pragmaticum et ejus assertores, Concilia Regia, xxxiv. p. 206. For an illustration of the practical effect of such language, compare the opening of Archbishop Chichele's apology for himself and the Duke of Gloucester, to Martin V. 'Beatissime Pater, post omnem servitutis et obedientiae promptitudinem, devotissimaque terrae oscula ante pedes, et quidquid creatura perhumilis Domino suo poterit Creatori.' &c. in Wilkins' Concilia, iii. 472.

Maximum, et Supremum in terris Numen,[n] all which and much more is done and taught and professed by the Popes, and in their behalf: if all this will not reach to St. Paul's
2 Thess. ii. 4. *exaltari supra omne quod vocatur Deus,* yet certainly, and no modest man can deny it, it will amount to as much as St.
1 S. Pet. v. 3. Peter's *dominari in Cleris,* even to the exercising of such lordship over the Lord's heritage, the Christian Church, as will become none but the Lord Himself, whose heritage the Church is.

§. 18. and undermined by the Magisterial Dictates,

18. Besides these, that do it thus by open assault, I would there were not others also, that did by secret underminings go about to deprive us of that Liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, even then when they most pretend the maintenance of it. They inveigh against the Church Governors, as if they lorded it over God's heritage, and against the Church orders and constitutions, as if they were contrary to Christian Liberty. Wherein, besides that they do manifest wrong to the Church in both particulars, they consider not that those very accusations, which they thus irreverently dart at the face of their Mother, to whom they owe better respect but miss it, do recoil part upon themselves, and cannot be avoided. For whereas these Constitutions of the Church are made for order, decency, and uniformity sake, and to serve unto edification, and not with any intention at all to lay a tye upon the consciences of men, or to work their judgments to an opinion, as if there were some necessity or inherent holiness in the things required thereby; neither do our Governors, neither ought they to press them any further: which is sufficient to acquit both the Governors from that lording, and the Constitutions from that trenching upon Christian Liberty, wherewith they are charged. Alas that our brethren, who thus accuse them, should suffer themselves to be so far blinded with prejudices and partial affections as not see* that themselves, in the mean time, do

[n] Stapleton de Princip. Fid. in praefat. [in Epist. Ded. Pontif. Max. Gregorio XIII. . . sub tui Amplissimi nominis planeque Supremi in terris Numinis tutela atque auspiciis. . .]

* 'as not see.' The ellipse of 'to' was formerly by no means uncommon; e. g. 'He thought greve,' and 'Thei wende friendes finde,' in Gower; and, nearer to Sanderson's time, in Beaumont and Fletcher, The Two Noble Kinsmen, iii. 6. 'As kind a kinsman, as you force me find A beneficial foe.' ib. iv. 2. 'enforced the god Snatch up the

really exercise a spiritual lordship over their disciples, who depend in a manner wholly upon their judgments, by imposing upon their consciences sundry Magisterial conclusions, for which they have no sound warrant from the written Word of God. Whereby, besides the great injury done to their brethren in the impeachment of their Christian Liberty, and leading them into error, they do withal exasperate against them the minds of those that being in authority look to be obeyed, and engage them in such sufferings as they can have no just cause of rejoicing in.

§. 19. and Superstitions of Novelists. Prov. xvii. 15.

19. For, beloved, this we must know, that as it is injustice to condemn the innocent as well as it is injustice to clear the guilty, and both these are equally abominable to the Lord, so it is superstition to forbid that as sinful which is in truth indifferent, and therefore lawful, as well as it is superstition to enjoin that as necessary which is in truth indifferent, and therefore arbitrary. Doth that heavy woe in Esay appertain, think ye, to them only that out of profaneness *call evil good,* Is. v. 20. and nothing at all concern them that out of preciseness call *good evil?* Doth not he decline out of the way that turneth aside on the right hand, as well as he that turneth on the left? They that positively make that to be sin which the Law of God never made so to be, how can they be excused from symbolizing with the Pharisees and the Papists, in making the narrow ways of God yet narrower than they are, in teaching for doctrines men's precepts, and so casting a snare upon the consciences of their brethren? If our Church should press things as far, and upon such grounds, the one way, as some forward spirits do the other way, if, as they say, it is a sin to kneel at the Communion, and therefore we charge you upon your consciences not to do it, so the Church should say, it is a sin not to kneel,* and therefore we require you upon your consciences

S. Matthew xv. 9. 1 Cor. vii. 35.

lovely boy.' v. 3. 'And charge me live.' Thierry and Theodoret, ii. 1. 'You shall seem lie with them in the trenches.'

* See below, §. 43, and Hooker's Eccles. Polity, V. lxviii. 3, with the passages quoted by Mr. Keble in illustration. For the better satisfying of such scruples, the Explanation of the true intent of the posture of kneeling, given in the Common Prayerbooks of 1552 and 1559, was replaced at the last Review. Pepys in his Diary says, that when the Holy Communion was administered to the Parliament by Dr. Gunning at St. Margaret's Westminster, May 26, 1661, Mr. Prynne, with two or three others, refused to receive the Sacrament on their knees.

to do it, and so in all other lawful, yet arbitrary, Ceremonies, possibly then the Church could no more be able to acquit herself from encroaching upon Christian Liberty than they are that accuse her for it. Which since they have done and she hath not, she is therefore free and themselves only guilty.

§. 20. We must not be the servants of men,

20. It is our duty, for the better securing of ourselves, as well against those open impugners, as against these secret underminers, to look heedfully to our trenches and fortifications, and to *stand fast in that Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free*, lest, by some device or other, we be lifted out of it. To those that seek to enthrall us, we should give *place by subjection, no, not for an hour;* lest we be ensnared by our own default, ere we be aware. For indeed we cannot be ensnared in this kind but merely by our own default; and therefore St. Paul often admonisheth us to take heed that none deceive, spoil or beguile us: as if it were in our power, if we would but use requisite care thereunto, to prevent it; and as if it were our fault most, if we did not prevent it. And so, in truth, it is. For we oftentimes betray away our own Liberty, when we might maintain it, and so become servants unto men, when we both might and ought to keep ourselves free.

Gal. v. 1.

Gal. ii. 5.

Eph. v. 6. Col. ii. 4, 8, 18. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

§. 21. either, 1°. by an obsequiousness to them in that which we know to be evil;

21. Which fault we shall be the better able to avoid, when we shall know the true causes whence it springeth, which are evermore one of these two, an unsound head, or an unsound heart. Sometimes we esteem too highly of others, so far as either to envassal our judgments to their opinions, or to enthrall our consciences to their precepts; and that is our weakness: there the fault is in the head. Sometimes we apply ourselves to the wills of others, with an eye to our own benefit or satisfaction in some other carnal or worldly respect, and that is our fleshliness: there the fault is in the heart. This latter is the worst, and therefore in the first place to be avoided. The most and worser sort, unconscionable men, do often transgress this way. When, for fear of a frown or worse displeasure, or to curry favour with those they may have use of, or in hope either of raising themselves to some advancement, or of raising to themselves some advantage, or for some other like respects, they become officious instruments to others for the accomplishing of their lusts in such services as are evidently, even to their own apprehensions, sinful and wicked. So Doeg did

King Saul service in shedding the blood of fourscore and five innocent Priests; and Absalom's servants murdered their Master's brother upon his bare command; and Pilate, partly to gratify the Jews, but especially for fear of Caesar's displeasure, gave sentence of death upon Jesus, who, in his own conscience he thought had not deserved it. In such cases as these are, when we are commanded by our superiors, or required by our friends, or any other way solicited, to do that which we know we cannot do without sin, we are to maintain our Liberty (if we cannot otherwise fairly decline the service) by a flat and peremptory denial, though it be to the greatest power upon earth.* As the three young men did to the great Nebuchadnezzar: *Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.* And the ancient Christians to the heathen Emperors, *Da veniam, Imperator: tu carcerem, Ille gehennam.*† And the Apostles to the whole council of the Jews, *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken to you more than unto God, judge ye.* He that will displease God to please men, he is the servant of men, and cannot be the servant of God.

1 Sam. xxii. 18. 2 Sam. xiii. 28, 29. S. Mark xv. 15. S. John xix. 12. Dan. iii. 18. Acts iv. 19. Gal. i. 10.

22. But honest and conscionable men, who do not easily and often fail this way, οἱ ἄκακοι, as the word is, Rom. xvi, men that are not evil, are yet apt sometimes to be so far carried away with an high estimation of some men, as to subject themselves wholly to their judgments or wills, without ever questioning the truth of any thing they teach, or the lawfulness of any thing they enjoin. It is a dangerous thing θαυμάζειν πρόσωπα, as St. Jude speaketh, to *have men's persons in admiration*, though they be of never so great learning, wisdom, or piety, because the best and wisest men that are, are ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν, *subject to the like infirmities as we are*‡

§. 22. or, 2°. by subjecting ourselves to their opinions or wills, Rom. xvi. 18. S. Jude, verse 16. Acts xiv. 15. and S. James v. 17.

* Quoties constat praeceptum Praelati esse contra Deum, tunc plus obligat Conscientia, quam praeceptum Praelati. Quamvis enim quis juret, aut voveat generaliter obedire in omnibus, id solum intelligitur de licitis, justis, et honestis. Et hoc certum est apud omnes, nec talis Conscientia erronea est, sed recta; et sic intelligendum est illud, Act. iv. *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.* Sayrus, Clavis Regia, I. iv. 32.

† Augustin. Serm. 62. de Verbis Domini. tom. v. 362 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1683. Compare Sermon iv. ad Clerum, §. 23.

‡ *under infirmities even as we are*, Cranmer, and Parker, in St. James; though in the Acts they agree with Tyndale and Taverner, in giving, *mortal men.*

both of sin and error, and such as may both deceive others and be themselves deceived.[o] That honour which Pythagoras his Scholars gave to their Master, in resting upon his bare authority, Αὐτὸς ἔφα, as a sufficient proof, yea, as a divine Oracle,[p] many judicious even among the Heathen altogether misliked,[q] as too servile, and prejudicial to that *Libertas Philosophica*, that freedom of judgment which was behoveful for the study of Philosophy. How much more then must it needs be prejudicial in the judgment of Christians to that *Libertas Evangelica*, that freedom we have in Christ, to give such honour to any other man but *the Man Christ Jesus* only, or to any other writings than to those which are in truth *the* 1 S. Pet. iv. 11. *Oracles of God*, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

§. 23. be they of never so great worth or note.

23. There is, I confess, much reverence to be given to the writings of the godly ancient Fathers, more to the Canons and Decrees of general and provincial Councils, and not a little to the judgment of learned, sober, and godly Divines of later and present times, both in our own and other reformed Churches.* But we may not *jurare in verba*,[r] build our faith upon them as upon a sure foundation, nor pin our belief upon their sleeves, so as to receive for an undoubted truth whatsoever they hold, and to reject as a gross error whatsoever they disallow, without further examination. St. John biddeth us *try the spirits*, before we believe them. And the Beroeans† are remembered with praise for so doing. We blame it in the Schoolmen, that some adhere pertinaciously to the opinions of Thomas, and others as pertinaciously to the opinions of Scotus, in every point wherein they differ; insomuch as it were *grande piaculum*, a heinous thing, and not to be suffered, if a Dominican should dissent from Thomas, or a Franciscan from Scotus,

1 S. John iv. 1. Acts xvii. 11.

[o] Humana vero auctoritas plerumque fallit. Augustin. de Ordine, ii. 9. [tom. i. 341 F. ed. Ben. Paris. 1679.]

[p] ... ὡς χρησμῷ θείῳ, [οὕτως οἱ τότε] προσείχον τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Aelian. [Var. Hist.] iv. 17.

[q] Nec vero probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoreis accepimus, &c. Cicero de Nat. Deorum, i. [5.]

* In Sermon xi. ad Aulam, §. 21, Sanderson speaks of 'the whole Reformed Religion.' Bp. Wilson in the Prayer which he used before Sermon had this petition: 'Bless all the Reformed Churches.' Works, vol. ii. 4°.

[r] Horat. Epist. I. i. [14.] ... ut isti qui in verba jurant, nec quid dicatur aestimant, sed a quo .. Seneca, Epist. 12.

† 'Beroeans.' Sanderson has followed the Vulgate in the mode of writing.

though but in one single controversed conclusion. And we blame it justly; for St. Paul blamed the like sidings and partakings in the Church of Corinth, whilst one professed himself to be of Paul, another of Apollos,* another of Cephas, as a fruit of carnality unbeseeming Christians. And is it not also blameworthy in us, and a fruit of the same carnality, if any of us shall affect to be accounted rigid Lutherans, or perfect Calvinists?† or give up our judgments to be wholly guided by the writings of Luther, or Calvin, or of any other mortal man whatsoever? Worthy instruments they were, both of them, of God's glory, and such as did excellent service to the Church in their times, whereof we yet find the benefit; and we are unthankful, if we do not bless God for it; and therefore it is an unsavoury thing for any man to gird at their names whose memories ought to be precious. But yet were they not men? had they received the Spirit in the fulness of it, and not by measure? knew they otherwise than in part, or prophesied otherwise than in part? might they not in many things, did they not in some things, mistake and err? Howsoever, the Apostle's interrogatories are unanswerable. What, saith he, *Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?* even so, was either Luther or Calvin crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name either of Luther or Calvin, or any other man? that any one of you should say, I am of Luther; or any other, I am of Calvin, and I of him, and I of him? what is Calvin or Luther, nay, *what is Paul or Apollos,* but ministers by whom ye believed?* that is to say, instruments, but not lords of your belief.

1 Cor. iii. 4.

1 Cor. i. 13.

1 Cor. iii. 5.

24. To sum up, and to conclude this first point then. To do God and ourselves right, it is necessary we should, with our utmost strength, maintain the doctrine and power of that Liberty wherewith Christ hath endowed His Church, without either usurping the mastery over others, or subjecting ourselves to their servitude, so as to surrender either our judgments or consciences to be wholly disposed according to the opinions or wills of men, though of never so excellent piety or parts. But yet, lest, while we shun one extreme, we fall into

§. 24. Observation I. We must not abuse our Liberty,

* 'Apollos.' Apollo, in all the Editions.

† Compare the Third Praelection De Obligatione Conscientiae, §. 29.

another, as, the Lord be merciful unto us, we are very apt to do; lest, while we seek to preserve our Liberty that we do not lose it, we stretch it too far, and so abuse it; the Apostle therefore, in the next clause of the Text, putteth in a caveat for that also, *not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*. Whence ariseth our second Observation. We must so maintain our Liberty that we abuse it not, as we shall, if under the pretence of Christian Liberty we either adventure the doing of some unlawful thing, or omit the performance of any requisite duty. *As free, and not using your Liberty for a cloak of maliciousness.*

§. 25. by making it a Cloak,

25. The Apostle's intention in the whole clause will the better appear, when we know what is meant by *Cloak*, and what by *Maliciousness*. The Greek word ἐπικάλυμμα, which is nowhere else found in the whole New Testament but in this verse only, signifieth properly any covering: as the covering of badgers' skins, that was spread over the Tabernacle, is in the Septuagint's Translation called ἐπικάλυμμα. And it is very fitly translated a cloak, though it do not properly so signify, in respect of that notion wherein the word in our English tongue is commonly and proverbially used, to note some fair and colourable pretence, wherewith we disguise and conceal from the conusance* of others the dishonesty and faultiness of our intentions in some things practised by us. Our Saviour Christ saith of the obstinate Jews that had heard His doctrine and seen His miracles, that they had *no cloak for their sin*. He meaneth they had no colour of plea, nothing to pretend by way of excuse. And St. Paul professeth in the whole course of his ministry not to have used at any time *a cloak of covetousness*: that is, he did not, under colour of preaching the Gospel, endeavour to make a prey of them, or a gain unto himself. In both which places, the Greek word is πρόφασις, which signifieth a fair show, pretence, or colour, which we use to call a cloak.

Exod. xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 19.

S. John xv. 22.

1 Thess. ii. 5.

§. 26. as we are apt to do,

26. It is a corruption very common among us: whatsoever we are within, yet we desire εὐπροσωπῆσαι, *to make a fair show* outwardly, and to make bright *the outside of the platter*,

Gal. vi. 12.

* 'conusance.' The same mode of writing this word appears in Sermon v. ad Magistr. §. 16.

how sluttish soever the inside be. We are loth to forbear those sins which we are ashamed to profess; and therefore we blanch them, and colour them, and cloak them, that we may both do the thing we desire and yet miss the shame we deserve. A fault of an ancient original, and of long continuance, ever since Adam first patcht together a cloak of fig-leaves, to cover the shame of his nakedness. Since which time, unless it were some desperately profane wretches, that, being void of shame as well as grace, proclaim their sins as Sodom, and hide them not, but rather glory in them, what man ever wanted some handsome cloak or other to cast over the foulest and ugliest transgressions?[s] Saul spared Agag and the fatter cattle, flat contrary to the Lord's express command; and the offering of sacrifice must be the cloak. Jezebel, by most unjust and cruel oppression, murdereth Naboth to have his vineyard; and the due punishment of blasphemy must be the cloak. The covetous Pharisees devour widows' houses; and devotion must be the cloak. So, in the Church of Rome, Monkery is used for a cloak of idleness and epicurism;* the seal of Confession for a cloak of packing treasons,† and diving into the secrets of all Princes and Estates; Purgatory, Dirges, Indulgences, and Jubilees, for a cloak of much rapine and avarice. Seneca said truly of most men, that they studied more *excusare vitia, quam excutere,*[t] rather solicitous how to cloak their faults than desirous to forsake them. And St. Bernard's complaint is much like it, both for truth and elegancy, that men did not set themselves so much *colere virtutes,*[u] to exercise true virtue and the power of godliness, as *colorare vitia,* to mask foul vices under the vizard of virtue and godliness. Alas, that our own daily experience did not too abundantly justify the complaint in the various passages of common life, not needful, being so evident, and being so many, not possible, to be now mentioned. We have a clear instance in the Text; and it should grieve us to see it so common in the world that the blessed Liberty we

S. Matt. iii. 25.

Gen. iii. 7.

Is. iii. 9.

1 Sam. xv. 15.

1 Kings xxi. 13.

S. Matthew xxiii. 14.

[s] Nullum vitium est sine patrocinio. Seneca, Epist. 116.

* See above, Sermon iv. §. 16.

† Compare Sermon i. ad Clerum, §. 21.

[t] Seneca, Epist. 116.

[u] Bernard. [Super Cantica, Sermo 66. Non sufficit haereticos esse, nisi et hypocritae sint. . . . Neque enim est apud eos virtutes colere, sed vitia colorare quodam quasi virtutum minio. tom. i. col. 1494 C. ed. Ben.]

have in Christ should become ἐπικάλυμμα, *a cloak*, and that *of maliciousness*.

§. 27. of Maliciousness:

27. You see what the *cloak* is: see now what is *maliciousness*. Κακία is the word, which is properly rendered by malice or maliciousness. And as these English words, and the Latin word *malitia* whence these are borrowed, so likewise κακία in Greek is many times used to signify one special kind of sin, which is directly opposite to brotherly love and charity; and the word is usually so taken wheresoever it is either set in opposition to such charity, or else ranked with other special sins of the same kind, such as are anger, envy, hatred, and the like. And if we should so understand it here, the sense were good; for it is a very common thing in the world to offend against brotherly charity, under the colour of Christian Liberty; and doubtless our Apostle here intendeth the remedy of that abuse also. Yet I rather conceive that the word *maliciousness* in this place is to be taken in a larger comprehension, for all manner of evil and of naughtiness, according to the adequate signification of the Greek and Latin adjectives, κακός and *malus*, from whence the substantive used in the Text is derived. Of which *maliciousness* so largely taken, that special maliciousness before spoken of is but a branch. The Apostle's full purpose then, in this clause of the Text, is to restrain all that abuse of Christian Liberty, whereby it is made a cloak for the palliating of any wicked or sinful practice in any kind whatsoever. And so understood, St. Peter's admonition here is paralleled with St. Paul's elsewhere. *Brethren*, saith he, *you have been called unto liberty: only, use not your liberty for an occasion to the flesh.* To use Liberty *for an occasion to the flesh*, and to use Liberty for *a cloak of maliciousness*, is the very same thing; and it is a very great sin.

Rom. i. 29. Col. iii. 8. Titus iii. 3.

Gal. v. 13.

§. 28. proved from the Text in three respects. The first,

28. For the proof whereof, I shall need to use no other arguments than the words of the Text will afford. First, every act of maliciousness is a sin; and, secondly, to cloak it with a fair pretence maketh it a greater sin; but then, thirdly, to use Christian Liberty for the cloak giveth a further addition to it, and maketh it a greater sin. First, it is a sin to do any act of maliciousness. Κακὸν and κακία, we know, are *conjugata*, and do mutually infer each other. It is a superfluous thing, and such as we might well enough be with-

out: περισσείαν κακίας, *superfluity of maliciousness.** Nor so only, but it is an hurtful thing and of a noxious and malignant quality, as leaven souring the whole lump of our services to God, ζύμη κακίας, *the leaven of maliciousness*. It is a thing to be repented of: μετανόησον ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας, *repent of this thy wickedness* or *maliciousness*, saith St. Peter to Simon Magus. It is a thing to be cast away from us, and abominated as a filthy garment or polluted cloth: ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν κακίαν, *laying aside* or casting away *all maliciousness*, saith the same Apostle again in the first verse of this chapter.

S. James i. 21. 1 Cor. v. 8. Acts viii. 22. 1 S. Peter ii. 1.

29. It is evil then to do any act of maliciousness, but much worse, when we have so done, to cloak it with a fair pretence. For besides that all things, howsoever cloaked and covered from the eyes of men, are *naked and open unto the eyes of Him with whom we have to do*, this cloaking of our sins is but a further evidence of our hypocrisy in His sight, who, as He is a God of pure eyes, and therefore cannot but hate all sin, so is He a God that loveth a pure heart, and therefore of all sins hateth hypocrisy. They that by injustice and oppression devour widows' houses, shall certainly receive damnation for that; but if withal they do it under the colour of devotion and of long prayers, περισσότερον κρίμα, they shall receive *the greater damnation* for that also.

§. 29. the second. Heb. iv. 13. S. Matthew xxiii. 14.

30. But if men will needs be hypocrites, and must have a cloak for their maliciousness, they might yet at least bethink themselves of somewhat else of lighter price to make a cloak of, and not to use to so base a purpose so rich a stuff as is this blessed Liberty which the Son of God hath purchased with His most precious blood. As in nature *corruptio optimi pessima*,† so, in morality, by how much better any thing is in the right use of it, by so much is it worse in the abuse. As the quickest spirited wine hath the sourest lees, and the best wit misgoverned is the most pernicious, and an Angel, when he falleth, becometh a devil, so to use this Liberty, which is a spiritual thing, *for an occasion to the flesh*, to take this Liberty which, if I may so speak, is the very livery cloak of the servant of God, and to make it *a cloak of maliciousness*

§. 30. the third.

* *maliciousness*. So in Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva Bible: in Wycliffe and the Rhemish, *malice*.

† Aristotle, Politics, IV. ii. 2. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης καὶ θειοτάτης παρέκβασιν εἶναι χειρίστην.

for the service of sin, must needs be presumption in an high degree, and an unsufferable abuse.

§. 31. Christian Liberty may be abused four ways. First, by using it profanely.

31. Now we see how great a sin it is thus to abuse our Liberty, it will be needful, in the next place, to inquire more particularly wherein this abuse consisteth, that so we may be the better able to avoid it. We are therefore to know that Christian Liberty may be used, or rather abused, for *a cloak of maliciousness*, these four ways following. First, we may make it *a cloak of maliciousness*, if we hold ourselves by virtue thereof discharged from our obedience, either to the whole moral Law of God, or to any part of it. Where, to omit those that, out of the wretched profaneness of their own hearts,[x] pervert this branch of Evangelical doctrine, as they do all the rest, to their own destruction. As a spider turneth the juice of the sweetest and most medicinable herbs into poison,* so these turn *the grace of God into wantonness*,† and the liberty they have in Christ into a profane licentiousness. Great offenders this way are the Libertines and Antinomists, who quite cancel the whole Law of God under the pretence of Christian Liberty, as if they that were in Christ were no longer tied to yield obedience to the Moral Law: which is a pestilent error, and of very dangerous consequence. Whereas our Blessed Saviour Himself hath not only professed that He came *not to destroy the Law*, but expressly forbidden any man to think so of Him. *Think not that I came to destroy the Law: I came not to destroy it, but to fulfil it.*[y] And St. Paul rejecteth the consequence with an *Absit*, as both unreasonable and impious, if any man should conclude, that, by preaching the righteousness of faith, the Law were abolished. *Do we then make void the Law through faith? God forbid: yea*, saith he, *rather we establish the Law.*

S. Jude 4.

S. Matthew v. 17.

Rom. iii. ult.

§. 32. How the the Moral Law bind-

32. But they interpret those words of Christ in this sense, He *came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it:* that is, He came not to destroy it without fulfilling it first; but, by fulfil-

[x] Noli ergo libertate abuti ad libere peccandum, [sed utere ad non peccandum.] Augustin. in S. Johan. Tract. 41. [tom. iii. pars 2. 574 C. ed. Ben. Paris. 1680.]

* Compare Shakspeare, Winter's Tale, ii. 1.

† '*wantonness*.' Compare the reference made to this passage above, Sermon iv. §. 1.

[y] Vid. Augustin. libb. 17, 18, &c. contra Faustum Manichaeum, fuse; et in Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test. Quaest. 69. [tom. iii. pars 2. 69 G. Append.]

ling it in His own person, He hath destroyed it unto the person of every believer; and therefore is Christ said to be *the end of the Law to every one that believeth.*[z] Whence it is that the faithful are said to be *freed from the Law, delivered from the Law, dead to the Law,* and to be *no longer under the Law;* and other like speeches there are many every where in the New Testament. I acknowledge both their expositions to be just, and all these allegations true, yet not sufficient to evict their conclusion. Not to wade far into a controversy, which I had not so much as a thought to touch upon when I fixed my choice upon this Scripture, it shall suffice us to propound one distinction, which, well heeded and rightly applied, will clear the whole point concerning the abrogation and obligation of the Moral Law under the New Testament, and cut off many needless curiosities,* which lead men into error. The Law, then, may be considered either as a Rule, or as a Covenant. Christ hath freed all believers from the rigour and curse of the Law, considered as a Covenant; but He hath not freed them from obedience to the Law, considered as a Rule. And all those Scriptures that speak of the Law as if it were abrogated or annulled, take it considered as a Covenant: those again that speak of the Law as if it were still in force, take it considered as a Rule. The Law, as a Covenant, is rigourous; and under that rigour we now are not, if we be in Christ; but the Law, as a Rule, is equal; and under that equity we still are, though we be in Christ.

eth Christians, and how not: Rom. x. 4. vii. 6. vii. 4. Gal. ii. 19. Rom. vi. 14. Gal. v. 18.

33. The Law, as a Rule, only showeth us what is good and evil, what we are to do and not to do. *He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee:* without any condition annexed, either of reward if we observe it, or of punishment if we transgress it. But the Law, as a Covenant, exacteth punctual and personal performance of every thing that is contained therein, with a condition annexed of God's acceptance, and of blessing if we perform it to

§. 33. with the grounds of that difference. Micah vi. 8.

[z] Finis perficiens, non interficiens. Augustin. contra Adversarium Legis et Proph. ii. 7. [tom. viii. 594 E. ed. Ben. Paris. 1694.]

* 'curiosities,' *subtleties, nice distinctions.* Hacket, the Second Sermon on the Passion. 'The Schoolmen say, the Church was not redeemed with the blood which came out of the wound; neither was it washed with the water, *quia post mortem non est locus meriti* .... What need we subscribe to so much curiosity?'

the full, but of His wrath and curse upon us, if we fail in any thing. Now, by reason of transgression, we having all broken that Covenant, the Law hath his work upon us, and involveth
Gal. iii. 10. us all in the curse, so as, by the Covenant of the Law, no
Ibid. 11. flesh living can be justified. Then cometh in Christ, who, subjecting Himself for our sakes to the Covenant of the Law, first fulfilleth it in His own person, but in our behalf as our surety, and then disannulleth it, and instead thereof establish-
Heb. viii. 6. eth *a better Covenant* for us, even the Covenant of Grace. So that now, as many as believe are free from the Covenant of the Law, and from the curse of the Law, and set under a Covenant of Grace, and under promises of Grace. There is a translation then of the Covenant; but what is all this to the Rule? That still is where it was, even as the nature of good and evil is still the same it was. And the Law, considered as a Rule, can no more be abolished or changed than can the nature of good and evil be abolished or changed. It is our singular comfort then, and the happiest fruit of our Christian Liberty, that we are freed by Christ and through faith in Him from the Covenant and Curse of the Law; but we must know that it is our duty, notwithstanding the Liberty that we have in Christ, to frame our lives and conversations according to the Rule of the Law. Which if we shall neglect under the pretence of our Christian Liberty, we must answer for both, both for neglecting our duty, and for abusing our Liberty. And so much for the first way.

§. 34. Secondly, by using it inordinately.

34. The second way whereby our Liberty may be used *for a cloak of maliciousness*, is, when we stretch it, in the use of things that are indeed indifferent, beyond the just bounds of sobriety. Many men that would seem to make conscience of their ways* will perhaps ask the opinion of some Divine, or other learned man, whether such or such a thing be lawful or no; and if they be once persuaded that it is lawful, they then think they have free liberty to use it in what manner and measure they please: never considering what caution and moderation is required even in lawful things to use them lawfully.[a] St. Gregory's rule is a good one, *Semper ab illicitis,*

* 'of their ways.' So in the first Edition. Afterwards, 'of their way.'

[a] 'Because we are free, we may not run wild.' Hall, Contempl. xv. 3. [Hanun and David's Ambassadours.]

quandoque et a licitis:[b] things unlawful we must never do; nor ever lawful things, but with due respect to our calling and other concurrent circumstances.[c] Wine, and music, and gorgeous apparel, and delicate fare, are such things as God in His goodness hath created and given to the children of men for their comfort; and they may use them lawfully, and take comfort in them as their portion; but he that shall use any of them intemperately, or unseasonably, or vainly, or wastefully, abuseth both them and himself. And therefore we shall often find both the things themselves condemned, and those that used them blamed in the Scriptures. The men of Israel for stretching themselves upon their couches, and eating the lambs out of the flock, and chaunting to the sound of the viol, and drinking wine in bowls, in Amos vi; and the women for their bracelets, and ear-rings, and wimples, and crisping pins, and their other bravery, in Isaiah iii; and the rich man for faring deliciously and wearing fine linen in the Parable. Yea, our Saviour Himself pronounceth a woe against them that laugh. And yet none of all these things are or were in themselves unlawful: it was the excess only, or other disorder in the use of them, that made them obnoxious to reproof. Though some in their heat have said so, yet who can reasonably say that horse-matches, or playing at cards or dice, are in themselves and wholly unlawful? And yet, on the other side, what sober, wise man, because the things are lawful, would therefore approve of that vain and sinful expence which is oftentimes bestowed by men of mean estates in the dieting of horses, and wagering upon them? or of that excessive abuse of gaming, wherein thousands of our gentry spend in a manner their whole time, and consume away their whole substance? both which ought to be far more precious unto them. I might instance in many other things in like manner. In all which, we may easily err either in point of judgment, or practice, or both, if we do not wisely sever the use from the abuse. Many times, because the abuses are common and great, we peevishly condemn in others the very use of some lawful things. And many times again, because there is evidently a lawful use of

Verses 4-6. Is. iii. 18-23. S. Luke xvi. 19. vi. 25.

[b] Gregor. [Magn. Moral. V. in cap. iv. B. Job. See the passage quoted above, Sermon v. §. 24.]

[c] Quaedam quae licent, tempore et loco mutato non licent. Seneca, Controv. iv. 25.

the things, we impudently justify ourselves in the very abuses also. That is foolish preciseness in us, and this profane partiality: by that we infringe our brethren's Liberty, by this pollute our own. The best and safest way for us in all indifferent things is this, to be indulgent to others, but strict to ourselves, in allowing them their liberty with the most, but taking our own liberty ever with the least.*

§. 35. We should not be so strict to others as to ourselves.

35. But is not this to preach one thing, and do another? Ought not our doctrine and our practice to go together? It is most true, they ought so to do. Neither doth any thing I have said make to the contrary. What we may doctrinally deliver to be absolutely necessary, we may not in our own practice omit; and what we may doctrinally condemn as simply unlawful, we are bound in our own practice to forbear. But things of a middle and indifferent nature, we may not, doctrinally, either impose them as necessary, neither forbid as unlawful; but leave a liberty in them, both for other men and ourselves, to use them and not to use them, as particular circumstances and occasions, and other reasons of conveniency, shall lead us. And in these things both we must allow others a liberty which, for some particular reasons, it may not be so fit for us to take, and we may also tie ourselves to that strictness, for some particular reasons, which we dare not to impose upon others. It was a foul fault and blameworthy in the Scribes and Pharisees to tie *heavy burdens upon other men's shoulders, which they would not touch with one of their fingers;* but if they should, without superstition, and upon reasonable inducements, have laid such burdens upon themselves, and not imposed them upon others, for any thing I know, they had been blameless. There are many things which in my conscience are not absolutely and *in thesi* necessary to be done, which yet, *in hypothesi*, for some personal respects, I think so fit for me to do, that I should resolve to undergo some inconveniency rather than omit them: still reserving to others their liberty to do as they should see cause. There are again many things which in my conscience are not absolutely and *in thesi* unlawful to be done, which yet, *in hypothesi*, and for the like personal respects, I think so unfit for me to do, that I should resolve to undergo some inconvenience rather

S. Matthew xxiii. 4.

* Compare Sermon xii. ad Aulam, §§. 28, 30.

than do them: yet still reserving to others the like liberty as before, to do as they should see cause. It belongeth to every sober Christian advisedly to consider not only what in itself may lawfully be done or left undone, but also what in godly wisdom and discretion is fittest for him to do or not to do, upon all occasions, as the exigence of present circumstances shall require. He that without such due consideration will do all he may do at all times, under colour of Christian Liberty, he shall undoubtedly sometimes use his liberty for a *cloak of maliciousness*. And that is the second way, by using it excessively.

§. 36. Third, by using it uncharitably.

36. It may be done a third way; and that is by using it uncharitably, which is the case whereon I told you St. Paul beateth so often. When we use our Liberty so as to stumble the weak consciences of our brethren thereby, and will not remit, in any thing, the extremity of that right and power we have in things of indifferent nature, *to please our neighbour for his good unto edification*, at least so far as we may do it without greater inconvenience, we walk not charitably; and if not charitably, then not Christianly. Indeed the case may stand so, that we cannot condescend to his infirmity without great prejudice either to ourselves or to the interest of some third person. As, for instance, when the Magistrate hath positively already determined our Liberty in the use of it the one way, we may not in such case redeem* the offence of a private brother with our disobedience to superior authority in using our Liberty the other way; and many other like cases there may be. But this I say, that where without great inconvenience we may do it, it is not enough for us *to please ourselves*, and to satisfy our own consciences that we do but what we lawfully may; but we ought also to bear one another's burdens, and to forbear for one another's sakes what otherwise we might do, and so to *fulfil the Law of Christ*. St. Paul, who hath forbidden us in one place to make ourselves *the servants of any man*, hath yet bidden us in another place *by love to serve one another*. And his practice therein consenteth with his doctrine, as it should do in every teacher of Truth; for though he were free from all, and knew it, and would not *be brought under the power of any*, yet in love he

1 Cor. viii. 9. Rom. xv. 2. xiv. 15. xv. 1. Gal. vi. 2. 1 Cor. vii. 23. Gal. v. 13. 1 Cor. vi. 12.

* 'redeem,' *make amends for*. See Sermon xi. ad Aulam, §. 38.

1 Cor. ix. 19, 22. became servant to all, *that by all means he might win some.* It was an excellent saying of Luther, *Omnia libera per fidem, omnia serva per charitatem.*[d] We should know, and be fully persuaded with the persuasion of faith, that all things are lawful; and yet withal we should purpose and be fully resolved for charity sake to forbear the use of many things, if we find them inexpedient. He that will have his own way in every thing he hath a liberty unto, whosoever shall take offence at it, maketh his Liberty but *a cloak of maliciousness,* by using it uncharitably.

§. 37. Fourth, by using it undutifully.

37. The fourth and last way whereby we may use our Liberty for *a cloak of maliciousness,* is by using it undutifully, pretending it* unto our disobedience to lawful Authority. The Anabaptists, that deny all subjection to Magistrates in indifferent things, do it upon this ground, that they imagine Christian Liberty to be violated when by human laws it is determined either the one way or the other. And I cannot but wonder that many of our brethren in our own Church, who in the question of Ceremonies must argue from their ground, (or else they talk of Christian Liberty to no purpose), should yet hold off, before they grow to their conclusion, which to my apprehension seemeth by the rules of good discourse to issue most naturally and necessarily from it. It were a happy thing for the peace both of this Church and of their own consciences, if they would in calm blood review their own dictates in this kind; and see whether their own principle, which the cause they are engaged in maketh them dote upon, can be reasonably defended, and yet the Anabaptist's inference thence, which the evidence of truth maketh them to abhor, be fairly avoided. Yet somewhat they have to say for the proof of that their ground: which if it be sound, it is good reason we should subscribe to it: if it be not, it is as good reason they should retract it. Let us hear therefore what it is, and put it to trial.

§. 38. The usual

38. First, say they, Ecclesiastical Constitutions, for there is

[d] Luther in Gal. v. [? Operat. in Ps. xiv. Omnia sunt libera nobis per fidem, et tamen omnia serva per charitatem: ut simul stet servitus libertatis, et libertas servitutis. Jena, ii. 1566. fol. 148 b. Fabricius, in his Loci Communes D. M. Lutheri, Class. iii. p. 27. Lond. 1651, refers to ii. 1557. fol. 158 b.]

* 'pretending it,' *holding it up as a screen to:* a Latinism.

the quarrel, determine us precisely *ad unum* in the use of indifferent things, which God and Christ have left free *ad utrumlibet*. Secondly, by inducing a necessity upon the thing they enjoin, they take upon them as if they could alter the nature of things, and make that to become necessary which is indifferent, which is not in the power of any man, but of God only, to do. Thirdly, these Constitutions are so far pressed, as if men were bound in conscience to obey them, which taketh away the freedom of the conscience; for, if the conscience be bound, how is she free? Nor so only, but, fourthly, the things so enjoined are by consequence imposed upon us as of absolute necessity unto Salvation; forasmuch as it is necessary unto Salvation for every man to do that which he is bound in conscience to do; by which advice, kneeling at the Communion,* standing at the Gospel, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the like, become to be of necessity unto Salvation. Fifthly, say they, these Constitutions cannot be defended but by such arguments as the Papists use for the establishing of that their rotten tenet, that human Laws bind the conscience as well as Divine. Than all which premisses, what can be imagined more contrarious to true Christian Liberty?

Objections against the Laws Ecclesiastical.

39. In which Objections, before I come to their particular answer, I cannot but observe the unjust, I would we might not say unconscionable, partiality of the Objectors. First, in laying the accusation against the Ecclesiastical Laws only, whereas their arguments, if they had any strength in them, would as well conclude against the Political Laws in the Civil State, and against domestical orders in private Families, as against the Laws Ecclesiastical: yet must these only be guilty, and they innocent, which is not equal. Let them either damn them all, or quit them all: or else let them show wherein they are unlike, which they have not yet done, neither can do. Secondly, when they condemn the things enjoined as simply and utterly unlawful upon quite other grounds, and yet keep a stir about Christian Liberty, for which argument there can be no place without supposal of indifferency, for Christ hath left us no liberty to unlawful things, how can they answer this their manifest partiality? Thirdly, if they were put to speak upon their consciences, whether or no, if power were in their own

§. 39. The partiality of the objectors discovered.

* See above, §. 20.

hands, and Church affairs left to their ordering, they would not forbid those things they now dislike, every way as strictly and with as much imposition of necessity as the Church presently enjoineth them, I doubt not but they would say, Yea; and what equity is there in this dealing, to condemn that in others which they would allow in themselves? Fourthly, in some things they are content to submit to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions notwithstanding their Christian Liberty, which Liberty they stiffly pretend for their refusal of other some: whereas the case seemeth to be every way equal in both; all being enjoined by the same authority, and for the same end, and in the same manner. If their Liberty be impeached by these, why not as much by those? or if obedience to those may consist with Christian Liberty, why not as well obedience to these? In allowing some, rejecting others, where there is the same reason of all, are they not very partial?

§. 40. The first Objection answered.

40. And now I come to answer their arguments, or rather flourishes, for they are in truth no better. That first allegation, that the determining of any thing *in unam partem* taketh away a man's liberty to it, is not true. For the liberty of a Christian to any thing indifferent consisteth in this, that his judgment is throughly persuaded of the indifferency of it; and therefore it is the determination of the judgment in the opinion of the thing, not the use of it, that taketh away Christian Liberty. Otherwise, not only Laws Political and Ecclesiastical, but also all vows, promises, covenants, contracts, and what not that pitcheth upon any certain resolution *de futuro*, should be prejudicial to Christian Liberty, because they do all determine something *in unam partem*, which before was free and indifferent *in utramque partem*. For example, if my friend invite me to sup with him, I may by no means promise him to come, because the liberty I had before to go or not to go is now determined by making such a promise: neither may a young man bind himself an apprentice, with any certain master, or to any certain trade, because the liberty he had before of placing himself indifferently with that master or with another, and in that trade or in another, is now determined by such a contract. And so it might be instanced in a thousand other things. For indeed to what purpose hath God left indifferent things determinable both ways by Christian Liberty,

if they may never be actually determined either way without impeachment of that Liberty? It is a very vain power that may not be brought into act; but God made no power in vain.* Our brethren I hope will wave this first argument, when they shall have well examined it, unless they will frame to themselves, under the name of Christian Liberty, a very Chimaera, a *non ens*, a mere notional Liberty, whereof there can be no use.

§. 41. The second Objection answered.

41. That which was alleged secondly, that they that make such Laws take upon them to alter the nature of things, by making indifferent things to become necessary, being said *gratis*, without either truth or proof, is sufficiently answered by the bare denial. For they that make Laws concerning indifferent things have no intention at all to meddle with the nature of them, they leave that *in medio* as they found it; but only for some reasons of conveniency to order the use of them, the indifferency of their nature still being where it was. Nay, so far is our Church from having any intention of taking away the indifferency of those things which for order and comeliness she enjoineth, that she hath by her public declaration protested the contrary: wherewith they ought to be satisfied.† Especially since her sincerity in that declaration (that none may cavil, as if it were *protestatio contraria facto*)‡ appeareth by these two most clear evidences among many other: in that she both alloweth different rites used in other Churches, and also teacheth her own rites to be mutable: neither of which she could do, if she conceived the nature of the things themselves to be changed, or their indifferency to be removed by her Constitutions.

§. 42. The third Objection answered.

42. Neither is that true which was thirdly alleged, that where men are bound in conscience to obey, there the conscience is not left free, or else there would be a contradiction. For there is no contradiction where the affirmative and negative are not *ad idem*, as it is in this case. For obedience is one thing, and the thing commanded another: the thing is commanded by the Law of man, and in regard thereof the conscience is free; but obedience to men is commanded by the Law of God, and in regard thereof the conscience is bound.

* See above, Sermon iv. §. 8.

† See the close of that portion of the Prefatory matter prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, under this Title, 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained.'

‡ '*protestatio contraria facto*.' See above, Sermon v. §. 43.

So that we are bound in conscience to obedience in indifferent things lawfully commanded, the conscience still remaining no less free, in respect of the things themselves so commanded, than it was before. And you may know it by this. In Laws properly human, such as are those that are made concerning indifferent things, the Magistrate doth not nor can say, 'This you are bound in conscience to do, and therefore I command you to do it:' as he might say, if the bond of obedience did spring from the nature of the things commanded. But now, when the Magistrate beginneth at the other end, as he must do, and saith, I command you to do this or that, and therefore you are bound in conscience to do it, this plainly showeth that the bond of obedience ariseth from that power in the Magistrate, and duty in the subject, which is of Divine Ordinance. You may observe therefore that in human Laws, not merely such, that is, such as are established concerning things simply necessary or merely unlawful, the Magistrate may there derive the bond of obedience from the nature of the things themselves. As for example, if he should make a law to inhibit sacrilege or adultery, he might then well say, 'You are bound in conscience to abstain from these things, and therefore I command you so to abstain,' which he could not so well say in the Laws made to inhibit the eating of flesh or the transportation of grain. And the reason of the difference is evident: because those former Laws are rather Divine than human, the substance of them being Divine, and but the sanction only human, and so bind by their immediate virtue, and in respect of the things themselves therein commanded; which the latter, being merely human, both for substance and sanction, do not.

§. 43. The fourth Objection answered,

43. The consideration of which difference, and the reason of it, will abundantly discover the vanity of the fourth allegation also; wherein it was objected that the things enjoined by the Ecclesiastical Laws are imposed upon men as of necessity to Salvation. Which is most untrue. Remember once again, that obedience is one thing, and the things commanded another. Obedience to lawful authority is a duty commanded by God Himself and in His Law, and so is a part of that

Heb. xii. 14. *holiness without which no man shall see God;* but the things themselves commanded by lawful authority are neither in truth

necessary to Salvation, nor do they that are in authority impose them as such. Only they are the object, and that but by accident neither and contingently, not necessarily, about which that obedience is conversant, and wherein it is to be exercised. An example or two will make it plain. We know every man is bound in conscience to employ himself in the works of his particular calling with faithfulness and diligence, and that faithfulness and diligence is a branch of that holiness and righteousness which is necessary unto Salvation. Were it not now a very fond thing and ridiculous, for a man from hence to conclude, that therefore drawing of wine, or making of shoes, were necessary to Salvation, because these are the proper employment of the vintners' and shoemakers' calling, which they in conscience are bound to follow, nor may without sin neglect them? Again, if a master command his servant to go to the market, to sell his corn, and to buy in provision for his house, or to wear a livery of such or such a colour and fashion, in this case who can reasonably deny but that the servant is bound in conscience to do the very things his master biddeth him to do, to go, to sell, to buy, to wear? And yet is there any man so forsaken of common sense as thence to conclude, that going to market, selling of corn, buying of meat, wearing a blue coat, are necessary to Salvation? or that the master imposeth those things upon the servant as of necessity unto Salvation? The obligation of the servant's conscience to do the things commanded ariseth from the force of that Divine Law which bindeth servants to obey their masters in lawful things. The master, in the things he so commandeth, hath no particular actual respect to the conscience of his servant, which perhaps all that while never came within his thoughts, but merely respecteth his own occasions and conveniences. In this example, as in a glass, let the Objectors behold the lineaments and feature of their own argument. Because kneeling, standing, bowing, are commanded by the Church, and the people are bound in conscience to obey the Laws of the Church, therefore the Church imposeth upon the people kneeling, standing, and bowing, as necessary to Salvation.

44. If that which they object were indeed true, and that the Church did impose these rites and ceremonies upon the people as of necessity to Salvation, and require to have them §. 44. and retorted.

so accepted, doubtless the imposition were so prejudicial to Christian Liberty, as that every faithful man were bound in conscience, for the maintenance of that Liberty, to disobey her authority therein, and to confess* against the imposition. But our Church hath been so far from any intention of doing that herself, that by her foresaid public Declaration she hath manifested her utter dislike of it in others. What should I say more? *Denique te ipsum concute.*[c] It would better become the Patriarchs of that party that thus deeply, but untruly, charge her, to look under† their own cloaks, dive into their own bosoms, and survey their own positions and practice, if happily they may be able to clear themselves of trenching upon Christian Liberty, and ensnaring the consciences of their brethren, and imposing upon their Proselytes their own traditions of Kneel not, stand not, bow not, like those mentioned, Col. ii. 21. Col. ii, of *Touch not, taste not, handle not,* requiring to have them accepted of the people even as of necessity unto Salvation. If upon due examination they can acquit themselves in this matter, their accounts will be the easier; but if they cannot, they shall find, when the burden lighteth upon them, that it will be no light matter to have been themselves guilty of that very crime whereof they have unjustly accused others.

§. 45. The last Objection answered.

45. As for consent with the Papists in their doctrine concerning the power that men's Laws have over the conscience, which is the last Objection, it ought not to move us. We are not ashamed to consent with them, or any others, in any truth. But in this point we differ from them, so far as they differ from the truth; which difference I conceive to be neither so great as some men, nor yet so little as other some men would make it. They teach that human Laws, especially the Ecclesiastical, bind the consciences of men, not only in respect of the obedience, but also in respect of the things themselves commanded, and that by their own direct immediate and proper virtue. In which doctrine of theirs, three things are to be misliked. First, that they give a preeminence to the Ecclesiastical Laws above the Secular, in this power of binding. We may see it in them, and in these Objectors, how men will

* 'to confess.' ? to protest; or, to undergo the pains of a Confessor rather than submit.

† 'under.' So in the first Edition. Subsequently, 'unto their own cloaks.'

[c] Horat. Sat. I. iii. [35.]

run into extremities beyond all reason, when they give themselves to be led by corrupt respects. As he said of himself and his fellow-Philosophers, *Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu,*[d] so it is here. They of Rome, carried with a wretched desire to exalt the Papacy, and indeed the whole Clergy, as much as they may, and to avile* the Secular Powers as much as they dare, they, therefore, ascribe this power over the conscience to the Ecclesiastical Laws especially, but do not show themselves all out† so zealous for the Secular. Ours at home, on the contrary, out of an appetite they have to bring in a new Platform of Discipline into the Church, and for that purpose to present the established government unto the eyes and the hearts of the people in as deformed a shape as they can, quarrel‡ the Ecclesiastical Laws especially for tyrannizing over the conscience, but do not show themselves so much aggrieved at the Secular. Whereas the very truth is, whatsoever advantages the Secular powers may have above the Ecclesiastical, or the Ecclesiastical above the Secular in other respects, yet, as to the power of binding the conscience, all human Laws in general are of like reason, and stand upon equal terms. It is to be misliked, secondly, in the Romish doctrine, that they subject the conscience to the things themselves also, and not only tie it to the obedience; whereby they assume unto themselves, *interpretative*, the power of altering the nature of the things by removing of their indifferency, and inducing a necessity; for so long as they remain indifferent, it is certain they cannot bind. And, thirdly and principally, it is to be misliked in them, that they would have this binding power to flow from the proper and inherent virtue of the Laws themselves immediately and *per se*, which is in effect to equal them with the Divine Law; for what can that do more? Whereas human Laws, in things not repugnant to the Law of God, do bind the conscience indeed to obedience, but it is by consequent, and by virtue of a former Divine Law, commanding us in all lawful things to obey the superior powers.

[d] Horat. Epist. I. xvii. [19.]

* 'to avile,' *to depreciate*, from the French *avilir*.

† 'all out,' *entirely*, as in Sermon v. ad Aulam, §. 29.

‡ 'quarrel the Ecclesiastical Laws.' Compare Sermon iii. ad Magist. §. 13. 'to quarrel the discretion of our Sovereigns.'

§. 46. Whence human Laws have their power of binding the Conscience,

46. But whether mediately or immediately, may some say, whether directly or by consequent, whether by its own or by a borrowed virtue, what is it material to be argued, so long as the same effect will follow, and that as entirely to all intents and purposes, the one way as well as the other? As if a debt be alike recoverable, it skilleth not* much whether it be due upon the original bond, or upon an assignment. If they may be sure to be obeyed, the higher powers are satisfied. Let Scholars wrangle about words and distinctions, so they have the thing, it is all they look after. This Objection is in part true; and for that reason the differences in this controversy are not altogether of so great consequence as they have seemed to some. Yet they that think the difference either to be none at all, or not of considerable moment, judge not aright. For albeit it be all one in respect of the governors, whence the obligation of conscience springeth, so long as they are conscionably obeyed, as was truly alleged, yet unto inferiors who are bound in conscience to yield obedience, it is not all one; but it much concerneth them to understand whence that obligation ariseth, in respect of this very point whereof we now speak of Christian Liberty; and that for† two weighty and important considerations.

§. 47. is a point needful to be known for two reasons: the former,

47. [For first: if the obligation spring, as they would have it, from the Constitution itself, by the proper and immediate virtue thereof, then the conscience of the subject is tied to obey the Constitution in the rigour of it, whatsoever occasions may occur, and whatsoever other inconveniences may follow thereupon: so as he sinneth mortally, who, at any time, in any case, though of never so great necessity, doth otherwise than the very letter of the Constitution requireth, yea, though it be *extra casum scandali et contemptus*. Which were an heavy case, and might prove to be of very pernicious consequence; and is indeed repugnant to Christian Liberty, by enthralling the conscience where it ought to be free. But if, on the other side, which is the truth, the Constitution of the Magistrate bind the conscience of the subject, not immediately and by its

* 'skilleth not.' See Sermon iv. ad Clerum, §. 20, and compare Beaumont and Fletcher. 'What I have been, it skills not, what I will be is resolved on!' Little French Lawyer, i. 1. 'On any terms, how poor so e'er, it skills not.' Fair Maid of the Inn, i. 1.

† 'and that for.' The Edd. after the first have 'and for.'

own virtue, but by consequent only and by virtue of that Law of God which commandeth all men to obey their superiors in lawful things, then is there a liberty left to the subject, in cases extraordinary and of some pressing necessity not otherwise well to be avoided, to do otherwise sometimes than the Constitution requireth. And he may so do with a free conscience, so long as he is sure of these two things: First, that he be driven thereunto by a true and real, and not by a pretended necessity only; and secondly, that in the manner of doing he use such godly discretion, as neither to show the least contempt of the Law in himself, nor to give ill example to others to despise government or governors. And this first difference is material.

§. 48. the latter.

48. And so is the second also, if not much more; which is this. If the Magistrate's Constitution did bind the conscience *virtute propria*, and immediately, then should the conscience of the subject be bound to obey the Constitution of the Magistrate *ex intuitu praecepti*, upon the bare knowledge and by the bare warrant thereof, without further inquiry; and, consequently, should be bound to obey as well in unlawful things as lawful. Which consequence, though they that teach otherwise will not admit, yet in truth they cannot avoid; for the proper and immediate cause being supposed, the effect must needs follow. Neither do I yet see what sufficient reason they that think otherwise can show, why the conscience of the subject should be bound to obey the Laws of the Magistrate in lawful things, and not as well in unlawful things. The true reason of it is well known to be this, even because God hath commanded us to obey in lawful things, but not in unlawful. But for them to assign this reason were evidently to overthrow their own tenent:* because it evidently deriveth the bond of conscience from a higher power than that of the Magistrate, even the commandment of God.†] And so the Apostles indeed do both of them derive it. St. Paul, in Rom. xiii, men must be subject to the higher powers: why? because the powers are ordained‡ of God; and that for conscience sake too: why? because the Magistrates are the ministers of God. Neither

Rom. xiii. 1, 6.

* 'tenent.' Compare Sermon ix. ad Aulam, §. 32.

† In preaching the Sermon, Sanderson must have inserted a few words here, in order to keep up the continuity of the sense with the end of §. 47.

‡ 'ordained.' Editions after the First, 'commanded.'

may they be resisted; and why? because to resist them is to resist the ordinance of God. That is St. Paul's doctrine. And
1 S. Pet. ii. 13. St. Peter accordeth with him. *Submit yourselves*, saith he, *to every ordinance of man.* What, for the man's sake? or for the ordinance sake? No; but *propter Dominum, for the Lord's sake.* And all this may very well stand with Christian Liberty; for the conscience all this while is subject to none but God.[e]

§. 49. Christian Liberty and Civil Obedience have their proper bounds.

49. By these answers to their Objections, you may see what little reason some men have to make so much noise as they do about Christian Liberty. Whereupon if I have insisted far beyond both your expectations and my own first purpose, I have now no other thing whereby to excuse it, but the earnestness of my desire, if it be possible, to contain within some reasonable bounds of sobriety and duty, those of my brethren, who think they can never run far enough from superstition, unless they run themselves quite out of their allegiance. There are sundry other things, which I am forced to pass by, very needful to be rightly understood, and very useful for the resolution of many cases of conscience which may arise from the joint consideration of these two points, of Christian Obedience, and of Christian Liberty. For the winding of ourselves out of which perplexities, when they may concern us, I know not how to commend, both to my own practice and yours, a shorter and fuller rule of direction, than to follow the clue of this Text, wherein the Apostle hath set just bounds both to our Obedience and Liberty. Bounds to our Obedience, that we obey so far as we may without prejudice to our Christian Liberty: in all our acts of obedience to our Superiors still keeping our consciences free, by subjecting them to none but God. *Submit yourselves, &c.*, but yet *as free*, and *as the servants of God*, and of none besides. Bounds to our Liberty, that, the freedom of our judgments and consciences ever reserved, we must yet, in the use of indifferent things, moderate our Liberty, by ordering ourselves according unto Christian sobriety, by condescending sometimes to our brethren in Christian charity, and by submitting ourselves to the lawful commands of our

[e] Cum enim Christo jubente servis homini, non illi servis, sed Illi qui jussit. Augustin. in Ps. cxxiv. [tom. iv. 1415 E. ed. Ben. Paris. 1681.]

governors in Christian duty. In any of which respects if we shall fail, and that under the pretension of Christian Liberty, we shall thereby, quite contrary to the express direction of both the Apostles, but abuse the name of Liberty *for an occasion to the flesh*, and *for a cloak of maliciousness. As free, but not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.*

§. 50. Observation III. We should endeavour to be the servants of God.

50. And so I pass from this second, to my third and last Observation, wherein, if I have been too long or too obscure in the former, I shall now endeavour to recompense it, by being both shorter and plainer. The Observation was this. In the whole exercise both of the Liberty we have in Christ, and of those respects we owe unto men, we must evermore remember ourselves to be and accordingly behave ourselves as those that are God's servants: in these last words, *but as the servants of God*, containing our condition and our carriage. By our condition, we are δοῦλοι, *the servants of God;* and our carriage must be ὡς δοῦλοι, *as the servants of God.* I shall fit my method to this division, and, first, show you sundry reasons, for which we should desire to be in this condition, to be δοῦλοι, *the servants of God;* and then give some directions, how we may frame our carriage answerably thereunto, to demean ourselves ὡς δοῦλοι, *as the servants of God.*

§. 51. Whose service is, of all other,

51. For the first. We cannot imagine any consideration, that may be found in any service in the world, to render it desirable, which is not to be found, and that in a far more eminent degree, in this service of God. If justice may provoke us, or necessity enforce us, or easiness hearten us, or honour allure us, or profit draw us, to any service, behold, here they all concur: the service of God and of Christ is excellently all these. It is of all other the most just, the most necessary, the most easy, the most honourable, the most profitable service. And what would you have more?

§. 52. the most just,

52. First, it is the most just service, whether we look at the title of right on His part, or reasons of equity on ours. As for Him, He is our Lord and Master *pleno jure:* He hath right to our best services by a threefold title, like a treble cord, which Satan and all the powers of darkness cannot break or untwine. A right of Creation. *Remember, O Jacob, thou art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art my servant, O Israel.* Is. xliv. 21.

Princes and the great ones of the world expect from those that are their creatures, rather, that are called so, because they raised them, but in truth are not so, for they never made them, yet they expect much service from them, that they should be forward instruments to execute their pleasures, and to advance their intentions. How much more may the Lord justly expect from us, who are every way His creatures, for He raised us out of the dust, nay, He made us of nothing, that we should be His servants to do His will, and instruments to promote His glory. Besides this *Jus creationis*, He hath yet two other titles to our services, *Jus redemptionis*, and *Jus liberationis*. He hath bought us out of the hands of our enemies, and so we are His by purchase; and He hath won us out of the hands of our enemies, and so we are His by conquest. We read often in the Law of servants bought with money, δοῦλος ἀργυρώνητος; and it is but reason he that hath paid a valuable consideration for a man's service should have it. Now God hath bought us and redeemed us, *not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with His own most precious blood.** And, being bought with such a price, we are not our own, to serve the lusts of our own flesh, nor any man's else, that we should be the servants of men; but His only that hath bought us and paid for us, to *glorify Him both in our bodies and souls, for they are His, jure redemptionis*, by the right of purchase and redemption. Again, when we were *mancipia peccati et diaboli*, the devil's captives, and slaves to every ungodly lust, in which condition if we had lived and died, after a hard and toilsome service in the meantime, our wages in the end should have been eternal death, God, by sending His Son to live and die for us, hath conquered sin and Satan, and freed us from that wretched thraldom, to this end, *That, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve Him in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of our lives. I am Thy servant, I am Thy servant, and the son of Thine handmaid; Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder.* That is *Jus liberationis*, the right of conquest and deliverance. Having so many and so strong titles thereunto, with what justice can we hold back our

Exod. xii. 44. et alibi.

2 S. Pet. i. 18, 19.

1 Cor. vi. 19.

Verse 20.

S. Luke i. 74, 75.

Ps. cxvi. 16.

* Sanderson seems, in quoting from memory, to have blended Acts xx. 28. with the passage from the first Epistle of St. Peter. Compare, for the former of these Texts, Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §§. 37, 38.

services from Him?[f] It is the first and most proper act of Justice, *Jus suum cuique*, to *render to all their dues*, and to let every one have that which of right appertaineth unto him. And if we may not deny *unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's*, it is but right we should also *give unto God the things that are God's* by so many and just titles. Rom. xiii. 7. S. Matthew xxii. 21.

53. [Especially since there are reasons of Equity on our part in this behalf, as well as there is title of right on His part. You know the rule of Equity, what it is, even to do to others, as we would be done to. See then, first, how we deal with those that are under our command. We are rigid and importunate exactors of service from them; we take on unreasonably, and lay on unmercifully, and bewray much impatience and distemper, if they at any time slack their services towards us. How should this our strictness in exacting services from those that are under us, add to our care and conscience in performing our bounden services to our Lord and Master that is over us.[g] But as it is with some unconscionable dealers in the world, that neither have any pity to forbear their debtors, nor any care to satisfy their creditors; and as we use to say of our great ones, and that but too truly of too many of them, that they will neither do right nor take wrong, such is our disposition. We are neither content to forego any part of that service which we take to be due to us, nor willing to perform any part of that service which we know to be due to God.[h] See, secondly, how we have dealt even with God Himself. It is the master's part to command, not to serve: yet have we, against all reason and good order, done our endeavour to make Him who is our Master become our slave. Himself complaineth of it by His Prophet: *I have not caused thee to serve with an offering, and wearied thee with incense: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, and wearied me with thine* §. 53. and equal. Is. xliii. 23, 24.

[f] An qui fundum aufert ei a quo emtus est, et tradit ei qui nihil in eo habet juris, injustus est; et qui seipsum aufert dominanti Deo, a quo factus est, et malignis servit spiritibus, justus est? Augustin. de Civ. Dei. xix. 21. [tom. vii. 564 E. ed. Ben. Paris. 1681.]

[g] Vis ut tibi serviat cum quo factus es, et non vis servire Ei a quo factus es? Augustin. de Decem Chordis, cap. 10. [tom. v. 60 A. ed. Ben. Paris. 1683.]

[h] Quod laudas in servo, non exhibes Domino; et eo sceleratius, quia vis ut meliorem habeas tu servum, quam te Deus. Augustin. ibid. [60 C.]

iniquities. Now what can be imagined more preposterous and unequal than for a servant to make his master do him service, and himself the while resolve to do his master none? See, thirdly, what Christ hath done for us. Though He were the Eternal Son of the Eternal God, no way inferior to the Father, no way bound to us, yet out of His free love to us, and for
Phil. ii. 7. our good, He took upon Him *the form of a servant*, and was
S. Luke xxii. 27. among us *as one that ministereth.** That love of His should, in all equity and thankfulness, yet further bind us to answer His so great love, by making ourselves servants unto Him who thus made Himself a servant for us. Thus, both in point of right and equity, the service of God is a just service.]

§. 54. Secondly, the most necessary; 54. It is, secondly, the most necessary service. Necessary, first, because we are *servi nati*, of a servile condition, born to serve. We have not the liberty to choose whether we will serve, or no: all the liberty we have is to choose our master:
Joshua xxiv. 15. as Joshua said to the people, *Choose you whom you will serve.* Since then there lieth upon us a necessity of serving, it should be our wisdom to make a virtue of that necessity, by making choice of a good master, with his resolution there, *I and my house will serve the Lord.* It is necessary, secondly, for our safety and security: lest, if we withdraw our service from Him, we perish justly in our rebellion, according to that in the
Is. lx. 12. Prophet: *The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee, shall perish.* It is necessary, thirdly, by our own voluntary act,[i] when we bound ourselves by solemn vow and promise, in the face of the open congregation,† at our Baptism, to continue Christ's faithful soldiers and servants unto our lives' end. Now the word is gone out of our lips, we may not alter
Prov. xx. 25. it; nor, after we have made a vow, inquire what we have to do. Thus the service of God is a necessary service.

§. 55. thirdly, the most easy, in regard 55. It is, thirdly, which at the first hearing may seem a paradox, yet will appear upon further consideration to be a most certain truth, of all other the most easy service, in re-

* *as he that ministereth.* Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer.

[i] Nihil illi jam liberi est: spospondit. Seneca, Epist. 36.

† 'open congregation.' Compare Edward VI. Act of Uniformity; 'Common and Open Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments.' In Elizabeth's Proclamation against Foreign Anabaptists, in 1560 and 1568, Open Chapels and Churches are opposed to Conventicles or Secret Congregations. Strype's Life of Grindal. 8°. p. 182.

gard both of the certainty of the employment, and of the help we have towards the performance of it. He that serveth many masters, or even but one, if he be a fickle man, he never knoweth the end of his work: what he doth now, anon he must undo; and so, Sisyphus-like, he is ever doing, and yet hath never done. *No man can serve two masters:* not serve them so, as to please both: scarce so, as to please either. And that is every man's case that is a slave to sin. *Tot Domini, quot vitia.*[1] Every lust calleth for his attendance: yea, and many times contrary lusts[m] at once, as when Ambition biddeth, 'Let fly,' and Covetousness crieth as fast, 'Hold;' whereby the poor man is infinitely distracted[n] between a loathness to deny either and the impossibility of gratifying both. St. Paul therefore, speaking of the state of the Saints before conversion, expresseth it thus: *We ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures;* and that diversity breedeth distraction. But the servant of God is at a good certainty, and knoweth beforehand both what his work must be, and what his wages must be. As is the Master Himself, so are His Commandments, *yesterday, and to-day the same, and for ever,*† *without variableness or* so much as *shadow of turning. Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but the old commandment which ye had from the beginning.*

both of the certainty of the service,

S. Matt. vi. 24.

Titus iii. 3.

Heb. xiii. 8.

S. James i. 17.

1 S. John ii. 7.

56. It is some ease to know certainly what we must do, but much more to be assured of sufficient help for the doing of it. If we were left to ourselves for the doing of His will, so as the yoke lay all upon our necks, and the whole burden upon our shoulders, our necks, though their sinews were of iron, would break under the yoke; and our shoulders, though their plates

§. 56. and of the help we have for the performance thereof.

[1] Seneca. [Was *Tot Domini, quot vitia* meant to exhibit, in a compressed form, the sense of the passage quoted from Seneca in the following note? S. Ambrose, in his Exposition of Ps. cxviii. Serm. xx. §. 50, has, Quot peccata, quot vitia, tot Reges. tom. i. col. 1236 A. ed. Bened.

[m] Hos tam graves dominos, interdum alternis imperantes, interdum pariter, dimittit a te Sapientia, quae sola libertas est. Seneca, Epist. 37.

[n] En quid agis? duplici in diversum scinderis hamo: Hunccine, an hunc sequeris? Persius, Sat. 5. [154.]

† This may have been Sanderson's recollection of the words as they stand in the Geneva Bible: *Jesus Christ yesterday, and to-day, the same also is for ever.* Compare the quotation of the passage above, Sermon ii. §. 7. and again, below, Sermon viii. §. 26.

had the strength of brass, would crack under the burden. But our comfort is, that, as St. Austin sometimes prayed, *Da, Domine, quod jubes, et jube quod vis,*[o] so He that setteth us on work strengtheneth us to do the work: *I can do all things through Him that strengtheneth me.* Nay, rather, Himself doth the work in us. *Yet not I, but the grace of God in me.* The Son of God putteth His neck in the yoke with us, whereby it becometh His yoke as well as ours, and that maketh it so easy to us; and He putteth the shoulder under the burden with us, whereby it becometh His burden as well as ours, and that maketh it so light to us. *Take my yoke upon you: for my yoke is easy, and my burden light. Juvat Idem, Qui jubet.*[p] What He commandeth us to do, He helpeth us to do; and thence it is that *His commandments are not grievous.* Thus the service of God is an easy service.

Phil. iv. 13.
Is. xxvi. 12.
1 Cor. xv. 10.
S. Matt. xi. 30.
1 S. John v. 3.

§. 57. Fourthly, the most honourable;

57. It is, fourthly, the most honourable service. *Caeteris paribus,* he goeth for the better man, that serveth the better master. And if men of good rank and birth think it an honour for them, and a thing worthy their ambition, to be the King's servants, because he is the best and greatest Master upon earth, how much more then is it an honourable thing, and to be desired with our utmost ambitions, to be the servants of God, who is *Optimus Maximus,* and that without either flattery or limitation, the best and greatest Master, and in comparison of whom the best and greatest Kings are but as worms and grasshoppers. *It is a great glory to follow the Lord,* saith the son of Sirach. And the more truly any man serveth Him, the more still will it be for his own honour. For *them that honour me I will honour,* saith God; and Christ, *If any man serve me, him will my Father honour.* Thus the service of God is an honourable service.

Ecclus. xxiii. 28.
1 Sam. ii. 30.
S. John xii. 26.

§. 58. and, fifthly, the most profitable service.

58. It is, lastly and fifthly, the most profitable service. We are indeed *unprofitable servants* to Him; but, sure, we have a very profitable service under Him. They that speak against the Lord with stout words, saying, *It is vain to serve God;*

S. Luke xvii. 10.

[o] Augustin. [Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis. Imperas nobis continentiam. Confess. x. 29. Cf. 37. tom. i. 184 E. and 191 D. ed. Ben. Paris. 1679. The passage is quoted in the spurious Liber Soliloq. animae ad Deum, 28. Jubes Te diligi: da quod jubes, et jube quod vis. tom. vi. Append. 94 D.]

[p] Ausonius, in Carm. ad Theodos. [13. quoted above, Sermon iv. §. 25.]

and what profit is it that we have kept His ordinances? or, as it is in Job xxi, *What is the Almighty, that we should serve Him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto Him?* speak without all truth and reason. For, verily, never man truly served God, who gained not incredibly by it. These things, among other, the servant of God may certainly reckon upon, as the certain vails and benefits of His service, wherein his Master will not fail him, if he fail not in His service, Protection, Maintenance, Reward. Men that are in danger cast to put themselves into the service of such great personages as are able to give them protection. Now God both can and will protect His servants from all their enemies, and from all harms. *Of Thy mercy cut off mine enemies, and destroy all them that afflict my soul: for I am Thy servant.*[q] Again, God hath all good things in store both for necessity and comfort, and He is no niggard of either; but that His servants may be assured of a sufficiency of both, when other shall be left destitute in want and distress. *Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty: behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed: behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and howl for vexation of spirit.* And whereas the servant of sin, besides that he hath no fruit nor comfort of his service in the mean time, when he cometh to receive his wages at the end of his term, findeth nothing but shame or death; shame, if he leave the service, and, if he leave it not, death: *What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.* The servant of God, on the contrary, besides that he reapeth much comfort and content in the very service he doth in the mean time, he receiveth a blessed reward also at the last, even eternal life. He hath his *fruit in holiness,** there is his comfort onward;† and the end everlasting life, there is his full and final reward. A reward far beyond the merit of his service. And so the service of God is a profitable service.

Mal. iii. 13, 14. Job xxi. 15. Ps. cxliii. 12. Is. lxv. 13, 14. Rom. vi. 21. Ibid. 22.

[q] *I am thine, O save me.* Ps. cxix. 94.

* *in holiness.* So in the Geneva Bible. *your fruit that ye should be sanctified,* Tyndale and Coverdale. *your fruit to be sanctified,* Cranmer.

† 'onward,' *meanwhile.* See Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 41.

§. 59. Observation IV. We must behave ourselves as the servants of God: with all meet

59. And now, I pray you, what can any man allege or pretend for himself, if he shall hang back, and not with all speed and cheerfulness tender himself to so just, so necessary, so easy, so honourable, so profitable a service? Methinks I hear every man answer, as the Israelites sometimes said to Joshua with one common voice, *God forbid that we should forsake the Lord, to serve any other. Nay, but we will serve the Lord, for He is our God.* But, beloved, let us take heed we do not gloze* with Him, as we do one with another. We are deceived, if we think God will be mocked with hollow and empty protestations. We live in a wondrous complemental† age, wherein scarce any other word is so ready in every mouth, as 'Your servant,' and 'At your service,' when all is but mere form, without any purpose, or many times but so much as single thought, of doing any serviceable office to those men, to whom we profess so much service. However we are one towards another, yet with the Lord there is no dallying:‡ it behoveth us there to be real. If we profess ourselves to be, or desire to be called, δοῦλοι, *the servants of God*, we must have a care to demean ourselves ὡς δοῦλοι, in all respects as becometh the servants of God. To which purpose when I shall have given you those few directions I spake of, I shall have done. Servants owe many duties to their earthly masters in the particulars; but three generals comprehend them all, Reverence, Obedience, Faithfulness. Whereof the first respecteth the master's person, the second his pleasure, the third his business. And he that will be God's servant in truth,

Josh. xxiv. 16, 21.

Gal. vi. 7.

* 'gloze,' to *flatter*, and by flattery to *delude*. See Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 23; and compare Spenser, F. Q. III. viii. 14. 'For he could well his glozing speeches frame.' Milton, Paradise Lost, iii. 93. 'glozing lies.' ix. 249. 'So gloz'd the Tempter.' Shakspeare, Love's Labour Lost, iv. 3. 'Now to plain dealing: lay these glozes by.' Pericles, i. 1. 'he has found the meaning; but I will gloze with him.' 'Nor bribed by a glozing appetite.' South, Sermon ii. vol. i. 33. 'Earwigs .... durst not infest the Royal audience with pernicious glozing.' Hacket, Life of Williams, i. 85.

† 'complemental,' *complimentary*. See above, Sermon v. §. 38, and Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 23. Compare Plume's Life of Bp. Hacket, prefixed to the Century of Sermons, p. x. 'He ... could by no means endure to see in this complemental age men ruder with God than with men, bow often and lowly to one another, but never kneel to God.'

‡ 'dallying,' *trifling*, as in Shakspeare, First Part of K. Henry IV. v. 3, and Abp. Sharpe, Sermon xiii. on 1 Cor. xi. 23-25, vol. v. p. 233. Oxon. 1829.

and not only in title, must perform all these to his Heavenly Master.

§. 60. I. REVERENCE, which consisteth, 1°. in thinking meanly of ourselves;

60. Reverence is the first; which ever ariseth from a deliberate apprehension of some worthiness in another more than in a man's self, and is ever accompanied with a fear to offend, and a care to please, the person reverenced. And so it hath three branches, whereof the first is Humility. It is not possible that that servant who thinketh himself the wiser,[r] or any way the better man of the two, should truly reverence his master in his heart. St. Paul therefore would have servants to *count their own masters worthy of all honour*. He knew well they could not else reverence them as they ought. *Non decet superbum esse hominem servum*,[s] could he say in the Comedy: a man that thinketh goodly of himself cannot make a good servant either to God or man. Then are we meetly prepared for this service, and not before, when, truly apprehending our own vileness and unworthiness, both in our nature and by reason of sin, and duly acknowledging the infinite greatness and goodness of our Master, we unfeignedly account ourselves altogether unworthy to be called His servants.

1 Tim. vi. 1.

§. 61. 2°. in fearing to offend;

61. Another branch of the servant's reverence is fear to offend his master. This fear is a disposition well becoming a servant; and therefore God, as our Master, and by that name of Master, challengeth it: *If I be a Father, where is my honour? and if I be a Master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of Hosts.* Fear and reverence are often joined together, and so jointly required of the Lord's servants. *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice to Him with reverence.* And the Apostle would have us furnished with grace, *whereby to serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear.*

Mal. i. 6.

Ps. ii. 11.

Heb. xii. 28.

§. 62. 3°. in studying to please our Master.

62. From which fear of offending, a care and desire of pleasing cannot be severed: which is the third branch of the servant's reverence to his Master. St. Paul biddeth Titus *exhort servants to please their masters well in all things.* So must God's servant do: he must study to *walk worthy of Him unto all pleasing:* not much regarding how others interpret his doings, or what offence they take at him, so long as his Master accepteth his services, and taketh his endeavours in

Tit. ii. 9.

Col. i. 10.

[r] λυπεῖ με δοῦλος οἰκέτου μεῖζον δεσπότου μεῖζον φρονῶν.] φρονῶν. Menand. [Meineke, p. 325.

[s] Plautus [Asin. ii. 4. 64.]

good part. Whoso is not thus resolved to please his Master, although he should thereby incur the displeasure of the whole world besides, is not worthy to be called the servant of such a
Gal. i. 10. Master. *If I yet sought to please men, I should not be the servant of Christ.* And all this belongeth to reverence.

§. 63. II. Obedience, both active, in doing His Commandments; Eph. vi. 5. Rom. vi. 16. 63. Obedience is the next general duty. *Servants, be obedient to your masters. Know you not, whom you yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey?* As if there could be no better proof of service than obedience. And that is twofold, active and passive. For Obedience consisteth in the subjecting of a man's own will to the will of another: which subjection, if it be in something to be done, maketh an active, if in something to be suffered, a passive obedience. Our active obedience to God is the keeping His Com-
Josh. xxiv. 24. mandments, and the doing of His will: as the people said, *The Lord our God will we serve, and His voice will we obey.*
Ps. xviii. 44. And this must be done *in auditu auris*, upon the bare signification of His pleasure, without disputing or debating the matter: as the Centurion's servant, if his master did but say,
S. Matthew viii. 9. *Do this*, without any more ado did it. So Abraham, the
Heb. xi. 8. servant of the Lord, *when he was called to go out into a place which he should receive for an inheritance, obeyed and went out, though he knew not whither.* Nor only so; but, in the
Gen. xxii. greatest trial of obedience that ever we read any man, any mere man, to have been put unto, being commanded to sacrifice
Heb. xi. 17, 18. Rom. iv. 20. his only begotten son, *of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called*, he never *stumbled*, as not at the promise *through unbelief*, so neither at the command through disobedience, but speedily went about it, and had not failed to have done all that was commanded him, had not the Lord Himself, when he was come even to the last act, inhibited him by His countermand. If mortal and wicked men look to be obeyed by their servants upon the warrant of their bare com-
2 Sam. xiii. 28. mand, in evil and unrighteous acts,—*When I say unto you, Smite Amnon, then kill him, fear not: have not I commanded you?* saith Absalom to his servants,—ought not the express command of God much more to be a sufficient warrant for us to do as we are bidden, none of whose commands can be other than holy and just?

§. 64. and passive, 64. That is our active obedience. We must give proof of

our passive obedience also, both in contenting ourselves with His allowances, and in submitting ourselves to His corrections. He that is but a servant in the house may not think to command whatsoever the house affordeth at his own pleasure: that is the master's prerogative alone. But he must content himself with what his master is content to allow him, and take his portion of meat, drink, livery, lodging, and every other thing, at the discretion and appointment of his master. Neither may the servant of God look to be his own carver in any thing: neither ought he to mutter against his master with that ungracious servant in the Parable, complaining of his hardness and austerity, if his allowances in some things fall short of his desire; but *having food and raiment*, be it never so little, never so coarse, he should be content with it: nay, though he should want either or both, he should be content without it. We should all learn of an old experienced servant of God, St. Paul, what grace and long experience had taught him, *in whatsoever state* we are, *to be therewith content.*

in being content with His allowances,

S. Matthew xxv. 24.

1 Tim. vi. 8.

Phil. iv. 11.

§. 65. and in submitting to His Discipline.

65. We are to show our obedience to our Heavenly Master yet further, by submitting to His wholesome discipline, when at any time He shall see cause to give us correction. Our Apostle, a little after the Text, would have servants to be subject even to their froward masters, and to take it patiently when they are buffeted undeservedly and without fault. How much more ought we *to accept the punishment of our iniquity*, as we have the phrase, Levit. xxvi, and with patience to yield our backs to the whip, when God, who hath been so gracious a Master to us, shall think fit to exercise some little severity towards us, and to lay stripes upon us. Especially since He never striketh us, first, but for our fault, such is His Justice; nor, secondly, such is His Mercy, but for our good. And all this belongeth to that obedience which the servant of God ought to manifest, both by doing and suffering according to the will of his Master.

1 S. Pet. ii. 18.

Lev. xxvi. 41, 43.

§. 66. III. FIDELITY: which consisteth

66. The third and last general duty is Fidelity, *Who is a faithful and wise servant? Well done, thou good and faithful servant.* As if both the wisdom and goodness of a servant consisted in his faithfulness. Now the faithfulness of a servant may be tried especially by these three things. By the heartiness of his service, by being tender of his master's honour and

S. Matthew xxiv. 45. xxv. 21.

profit, and by his quickness and diligence in doing his business. A notable example whereof we have in Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv, in all the three particulars. For, first, being many miles distant from his master, he was no less solicitous of the business he was put in trust withal, than he could have been, if he had been all that while in the eye of his master. Secondly, he framed himself in his speeches and actions, and in his whole behaviour, to such a discreet carriage as might best set forth the credit and honour of his master. Thirdly, he used all possible diligence and expedition; losing not any time, either at first for the delivery of his message, or at last for his return home, after he had brought things to a good conclusion. Such faithfulness would well become us in the service of God, in all the aforesaid respects.

§. 67. 1°. in the heartiness of our service;

67. The first whereof is heartiness in His service. There are many servants in the world that will work hard, and bustle at it lustily for a fit, and so long as their master's eye is upon them, but when his back is turned, can be content to go on fair and softly, and fellow-like.* Such ὀφθαλμοδουλεία the Apostle condemneth, Col. iii, and elsewhere, admonishing servants whatsoever they do to do it heartily, and to obey their masters *not with eye-service, but in singleness of heart.* Towards our Heavenly Master, true it is, if we had but this eye-service, it were enough, because we are never out of His eye: His eyes are in all the corners of the earth, *beholding the evil and the good. And His eyelids try the children of men. He is about our beds, and about our paths, and spieth out all our goings.* And therefore, if we should but study to approve ourselves and our actions before His sight, it could not be but our services should be hearty, as well as handy: because our hearts are no less in His sight than our hands are. We cannot content our Master, nor should we content ourselves, with a bare and barren profession in the service of God, neither with the addition of some outward performances of the work done. But since our Master calleth for the heart as well as the hand and tongue, and requireth *truth in the inward parts* no less, rather much more, than show in the outward, let us but join that inward truth of the heart unto the outward profession

Col. iii. 22, 23. Eph. vi. 5-7. Prov. xv. 3. Ps. xi. 4. cxxxix. 3. Prov. xxiii. 26. Ps. li. 6.

* 'fellow-like.' Mine eyes, even sociable to the show of thine, Fall fellowly drops. Shakspeare, Tempest, v. 1.

and performance, and doubtless we shall be accepted. *Only fear the Lord, and serve Him in truth with all your heart.* 1 Sam. xii. 24.

§. 68. 2°. in our zeal for our Master;

68. Secondly, we must show our faithfulness to our Master by our zeal in His behalf. A faithful servant will not endure an evil word spoken of his master behind his back; but he will be ready upon every occasion to vindicate his credit, and to magnify him unto the opinion of others: he will make much of those that love his master, and set the less by those that care not for him. And as to his credit principally, so he hath an eye also, in the second place, to the profit of his master. He will have a care to save his goods the best he can: it will grieve his very heart[t] to see any of them vainly wasted or imbezzled by his fellow-servants: yea, and it will be some grief to him, if any thing under his hand do but chance to miscarry, though it be without his fault. See we, how far every of us can apply all this to our own selves in the service of God. If we have no heart to stand up in our rank and place for the maintenance of God's truth and worship, when it is discountenanced or overborne either by might or multitudes; if our blood will not appear a little, when cursed miscreants* blast the honour of God with their unhallowed breath by blaspheming oaths, fearful imprecations, scurril profanations of Scripture, licentious and bitter sarcasms against the holy ordinances of God; if a profound drunkard, an obscene rhymer, an habituated swearer, a complete roarer,† every loose companion‡ and professed scorner of all goodness, that doth but peep out with a head, be as welcome into our company, and find as full and free entertainment with us, as he that carrieth the face, and, for any thing we know, hath the heart, of an honest and sober Christian, without either profaneness or preciseness; if we grieve not for the miscarriages of those poor souls that live near us, especially those that fall any way under our charge; what faithfulness is there in us, or what zeal for God, to answer the title we usurp, so often as we call ourselves the servants of God?

[t] Χρηστοῖσι δούλοις ξυμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν Κακῶς πίτνοντα, καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται. Eurip. Med. [54.]

* 'miscreants.' Compare Sermon ii. §. 9.

† 'roarer.' Roaring Boys, or Roarers, the cant name for the bullying bucks of B. Jonson's time. Nares. See above, Sermon vi. §. 40. 'rioting and roaring.'

‡ 'companion.' See Sermon iv. ad Aulam, §. 30.

§. 69. 3°. in our diligence.

69. Thirdly, if we be His faithful servants, we should let it appear by our diligence in doing His businesses. No man would willingly entertain an idle servant, that is good at bit,[u] and nothing else: one of those the old rhyming verse describeth,

Sudant quando vorant, frigescunt quando laborant,

such as can eat till they sweat, and work till they freeze.

S. Matthew xxv. 26. *O thou wicked and slothful servant,* saith the Master in the Parable to him that napkined up his talent: they are rightly joined, *wicked and slothful,* for it is impossible a slothful servant should be good. The Poets therefore give unto Mercury, who is *Interpres Divum,* the messenger, as they feign, of Jupiter and the other gods, wings both at his hands and feet: to intimate thereby what great speed and diligence was requisite to be used by those that should be employed in the service of Princes, for the managing of their weighty affairs of State. Surely no less diligence is needful in the service of God, but rather much more, by how much both the Master is of greater majesty, and the service of greater importance. *Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord,* saith St. Paul. Let all those that trifle away their precious time in unconcerning things, or post off the repentance of their sins, and the reformation of their lives, till another age, or any other way slack their bounden service unto God either in the common duties of their general, or in the proper works of their particular calling, tremble to think what shall become of them, when all they shall be cursed, that have done the Lord's work, in what kind soever, negligently.

Rom. xii. 11.

Jer. xlviii. 10.

§. 70. The Conclusion.

70. We see now what we are to do, if we will approve ourselves and our services unto the Lord, our Heavenly Master. What remaineth but that we be willing to do it? and for that end pray to the same our Master, who alone can *work in us both the will and the deed,** that He would be pleased, of His great goodness, to give to every one of us courage to maintain our Christian Liberty inviolate as those that are free; wisdom to use it right, and *not for a cloak of maliciousness;* and

Phil. ii. 13.

[u] οὕτω γὰρ κακὸν δοῦλον γένος· γαστὴρ ἅπαντα. [Euripides] ap. Stob. Serm. 60. [62. 15. Gaisford.]

* *both the will and the deed,* Geneva Bible. *both the will and also the deed,* Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer.,

grace at all times, and in all places, to behave ourselves as the servants of God, with such holy reverence of His Majesty, obedience to His will, faithfulness in His employments, as may both procure to us and our services, in the mean time, gracious acceptance in His sight, and in the end a glorious reward in His presence, even for Jesus Christ His sake, His only Son and our alone Saviour.

SERMON VIII.*

PROVERBS XIX. 21.

There are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless, the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.

§§. 1–3. Between God's ways and ours,

IT being impossible for us to know God absolutely and as He is, His essence being infinite, and so, altogether incomprehensible by any but Himself, the highest degree of knowledge we can hope to attain unto, at least in this life, is by way of comparison with ourselves and other creatures. Whereby it is possible for us, making the comparison right, and remembering ever the infinite disproportion of the things compared, to come to some little kind of glimmering guess what He is, by finding and well considering what He is not.

§. 2.

2. But even in this way of learning we are oftentimes very much at a loss. Because we fall for the most part either short, or over, in that from which we are to take our first rise towards the right knowledge of God, to wit, the right knowledge of ourselves. We do not only see very imperfectly at the best,

1 Cor. xiii. 12.

because *we see but in a glass*,† as saith the Apostle; but we mistake also most an end‡ very grossly, because we are apt to make use of a false glass. We think foolishly, yea, and wickedly too sometimes, as it is in the fiftieth Psalm, that God

Ps. l. 21.

is even such an one as ourselves; and yet, God knoweth, little

Jer. xvii. 9.

do we know what ourselves are. There is so much deceitful-

Ps. xciv. 11.

ness in our hearts, so much vanity in our thoughts, so much pride in our spirits, that, though we hear daily with our ears,

Ps. cxliv. 4. xxxix. 5. lxii. 9.

that *man is like a thing of nought*, that he is *altogether vanity*, yea, *lighter than vanity itself*, and see daily before our eyes experiments enow to convince us that all this is true, yet

* There is, so far as I am aware, no clue to the date of the preaching of this Sermon. It was printed, in order that the number originally proposed might be made up, notwithstanding the abstraction of one of the Sermons ad Aulam. See the Preface of 1655. §. 4.

† '*in a glass*.' So in Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva Bible.

‡ 'most an end.' See Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 11.

we are willing to betray ourselves into a belief, that sure we are something, when indeed we are nothing, and to please ourselves but too much in our own ways and imaginations. Gal. vi. 3.

§. 3. 3. To rectify this so absurd and dangerous an error in us, absurd in the ground, and dangerous in the consequents, and withal to bring us, by a righter understanding of ourselves, to a better knowledge of God, useful, amongst other things, it is, to consider the wide difference that is betwixt God's ways and ours, betwixt our purposes and His. For *my thoughts are not your thoughts*, saith the Lord by the Prophet, *neither are your ways my ways. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so*, but much more than so too, *are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.* Weigh them the one against the other in the balance of the Sanctuary, or but even by the beam of your own reason and experience, so it be done impartially, and you will easily acknowledge both the vanity and uncertainty of ours, and the certainty and stability of His thoughts and purposes. Is. lv. 8, 9.

§§. 4, 5. three remarkable differences in the Text. 4. We have a proverb common amongst us, that yieldeth the conclusion: 'Man purposeth, but God disposeth.'* And this proverb of Solomon in the Text discovereth ground enough wherefrom to infer that conclusion: *There are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless, the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.* And that in three remarkable differences between the one and the other, therein expressed.

First, in the different Names of the things. Ours are but *devices:* His is *counsel.*

Secondly, in their different Number. Ours are *devices*, in the plural number, and with the express addition of multiplicity also, *many devices.* His but one, *counsel*, in the singular.

Thirdly, in their different manner of existing. Ours are but conceived *in the heart:* we have not strength enough to bring them forth, or to give them a being *ad extra:*—*many devices in a man's heart.* But He is able to give His a real subsistency, and to make them stand fast and firm, in despite of all opposition and endeavours to the contrary. *The counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.*

* *Homme propose, mais Dieu dispose.* Man proposes, but God disposes. Ray.

§. 5. 5. The whole amounts to these two points. First, when we have tossed many and various thoughts in our heads, amidst the throng of our hopes and fears and desires and cares, cast this way and that way, plotted, contrived, and devised, how to avoid this or that danger, how to compass this or that design, how to gratify this friend, or advance that child, how to counterwork or defeat this or that enemy or competitor; when we have summoned all our powers and set all our wits on work to manage the design we have pitched upon, and made all so sure that there seemeth nothing wanting to bring our intentions to the wished end; unless God say, Amen, that is, unless it please Him either in mercy to bless our endeavours with success for our comfort, or at least for some other secret ends agreeable to His wisdom and justice, suffer them
Ps. lviii. 8. to take effect, they shall all come to nothing, and be *as the untimely fruit of a woman*, which, after much pain and anguish to her that conceived it, perisheth in the womb, and never seeth the sun. Secondly, what God hath, in His everlasting counsel, determined, either to do Himself or to suffer to be done by any of His creatures, shall, whether we like it or dislike it, whether we will or no, undoubtedly even so come to pass as He hath appointed. The Lord will be King, *fremat*
Ps. xcix. 1. *licet Orbis;* and do *whatsoever pleaseth Him in Heaven and*
cxxxv. 6. *earth, in the sea and in all deep places, be the earth never so unquiet*, and all *the people* that dwell therein *never so impatient.*

§. 6. 6. Which two points, to wit, the vanity of our devices, and the stability of God's counsels, by reason of the opposition that is betwixt them, whereby they mutually give and receive light and confirmation either to and from other, are therefore very frequently joined together in sundry places of Scripture. As
Ps. ii. 1, 2. in Psalm ii, the rage and fury of Jews and Gentiles, of Princes and People, against the Lord and His Anointed; their imaginations, insurrections, and joint consultations to effect their intendments, and their professed resolutions to break the
Verse 3. bonds and to cast away the cords of their bounden allegiance; how vain and ineffectual they are, and instead of that liberty and advantage they had promised to themselves, procure them nothing but scorn and vexation, is largely declared
Verses 4, 5. in the beginning of the Psalm; and then followeth in few

words, how effectual, notwithstanding all their imaginations and endeavours to the contrary, the purpose of God was in setting up the kingdom of Christ: *Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion.* So in Job v, Eliphaz showeth the great power of God, first, in disappointing the devices of the crafty, *so that their hands cannot perform their enterprize; but the wise are taken in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong;* and then in fulfilling His own counsel of saving the poor from the sword, the mouth, and the hand of the mighty. And the like doth David again, in Psalm xxxiii, fully, and in words agreeable to these of Solomon, even *in terminis. The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought, and maketh the devices of the people of none effect.* That for the first point. Then followeth, for the second, in the very next words, *The counsel of the Lord shall stand for ever and ever, and the thoughts of His heart from generation to generation.*

Ps. ii. 6. Job v. 12, 13. Ibid. Ibid. 15. Ps. xxxiii. 10. Ibid. 11.

7. For the better evidencing and enforcing of both which points, I shall proceed in this order. First, to consider of the three differences formerly mentioned and contained in the Text, each of them severally and apart: then, taking the whole together, secondly, to show some reasons or grounds thereof; and, lastly, to propose some profitable Inferences from the same.

§. 7–14. Difference I. In their Names.

8. The first difference is in the Names: Man's *devices*, but *the counsel of the Lord.* Our most serious thoughts, the most mature and best digested deliberations and advices of the sons of men, and all the most exquisite resolutions, and advantageous endeavours ensuing thereupon, are but *devices* in comparison. Imaginations, fancies, or if you can find any lighter or emptier name whereby to call them. Indeed all these expressions are but too high to render to the full the extreme vacuity and nothingness of all human devices. Very Chimaeras they are, Castles in the air, that have no real existence in them, no base or bottom under them to uphold them.

§. 8.

9. I know not readily how to represent them unto you better than under the notion of Fancies; and so might the word be well enough here rendered. *There are many fancies,* or fantastical devices, *in a man's heart.* Now the vanity of men's fancies may something appear in madmen, in whom, the

§. 9.

inflammation of blood distempering the brain, as it hindereth the operation of the mind, and depriveth them of all solidity of judgment, so it addeth strength and nimbleness to the fancy. Whence it cometh to pass, that the sharpest Satirical Wits, with all the help of art and study, cannot ordinarily invent such shrewd and stinging answers, nor make such quick and smart returns of wit, to those that talk with them, as a madman sometimes in a frantic fit will hit upon of a sudden.

§. 10. 10. But in nothing is the vanity of men's fancies more apparent than in our ordinary dreams. Wherein we often fancy to ourselves golden mountains, and many other such things, as never were, nor ever shall be *in rerum natura;* such as have neither coherence nor possibility in them, and such as, when we are awake, we do not only find to be void of all truth and reality, but we laugh at as ridiculous, and wonder how such senseless and inconsistent imaginations should ever come into our heads. And yet, whilst we are dreaming, we entertain them with as full a persuasion of the truth and reality of them, as we do those things whereof we have the greatest assurance in the world, without any the least suspicion to the contrary; and are accordingly affected with them, mightily pleased or displeased, even as they suit with, or go cross to, our natural desires. But when we awake, we many times can scarce well tell what we dreamed of, much less do we find ourselves possest of those things which in our dreams we fancied to be ours.

§. 11. 11. As these dreams of one asleep, or those flashes of wit that come from a madman, such are all the plots and projects, the thoughts and purposes of men, wherewith they so much please or disquiet themselves about any thing that is done under the sun. Of all which, our Solomon, out of his great wisdom and much experience, pronounceth often and peremptorily that they are but *vanity*, and *folly*, and *madness*. They that applaud themselves in their cunning and deep contrivances, that trust to their wealth, power, strength, or policy, that think they are able to carry all before them, and to do what they list, are all the while but in a dream. So David affirmeth of the wicked in the midst of their greatest prosperity and successes. *Like as a dream when one awaketh, so shalt thou make their image to vanish out of the city.* And

Eccl. ii. 1, 2, &c.

Ps. lxxiii. 20.

the proud are robbed: they have slept their sleep; and all the men of might, that is, that thought themselves such mighty men whilst they continued in their dream, when they awaked, *found nothing in their hands.** And the Prophet Esay saith concerning all the nations that fight against mount Sion, that they *shall be even as when a hungry man dreameth that he is eating, but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth that he is drinking, but when he awaketh, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite.*† Ps. lxxvi. 5. Is. xxix. 8.

§. 12. 12. You may see in these representations what a poor nothing is all human Wisdom. Those devices which we applaud in ourselves or others, as matters of a great reach, and contrived with deep policy, are no better than mere fancies or dreams: whimsies, as we call them. At the most, but as a spider's web, that is one of the Prophet's comparisons too, a thing of great curiosity to the eye, spun of a most fine, subtle thread, and in a most exact proportion; but a thing of no strength at all, unless against a small fly, (the greater ones will break through it;) and the light touch of a besom striketh it all away in a moment. Is. lix. 5, 6.

§. 13. 13. But as for God's eternal purposes, it is not so with them. We are not to conceive of them as of our own vain devices, but rather as of sage counsels. *The counsel of the Lord.* By which name they are also styled in Psalm xxxiii. 11, and elsewhere in the Old Testament. The same name is found also in the New: *according to the purpose of Him that worketh all things after the counsel of His own will.* Yet is not this to be understood properly neither; for counsel is a thing, that, in strict propriety of speech, cannot be attributed unto God; for *who hath been His counsellor?* Counsel imporeth always some debate with oneself or others, some deliberation what is best to do or not to do, and how to do it; and, consequently, must suppose some impotency or defect, either in respect of knowledge, or action, or both. He that Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 34.

* *and all the men of riches found nothing in their hands.* Douay Bible.

† This Text is quoted very nearly as it stands in Cranmer, and in Parker's Bible: *it shall be even as when a hungry man dreameth that he is eating, and when he awaketh his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth that he is drinking, and when he awaketh, he is yet faint, and his soul hath appetite.*

knoweth perfectly, at the first thought of a thing, what is fit to be done, and is assured nothing can hinder Him for doing the same, needeth not either to ask or to take counsel about it. God, therefore, whose both Wisdom and Power is infinite, hath not any need or use of counsel.

§. 14. 14. The truth is, as the name of *devices* was too high an appellation to bestow upon our vain imaginations, if we knew a worse, so the name of *counsel* is too low to bestow upon Almighty God's eternal purposes, if we knew a better. But the Scripture, fitted to our capacity, speaketh of the things of God in such language, and under such notions, as best agree with our weak conceptions, but far below the dignity and majesty of the things themselves. Counsels, then, they are called, in comparison of men's devices; and the reason of the comparison standeth thus. As those resolutions which follow upon good advice and mature deliberation, where all circumstances are taken into due consideration, and the conveniences and inconveniences examined and weighed, which we call counsels, are better approved of, as being more solid, and likely to prove more successful, than those sudden motions that rash, light heads take up in a heat or humour, and carry on without either fear or wit, so, but infinitely more than so, do the wise purposes and counsels of God exceed the vain imaginations and devices of men. As the lightning, which is but a flash, and then vanisheth, so are these; but those, like the sun, which hath a fulness of durable light and heat within itself always alike, howsoever it may appear to us sometimes more and sometimes less.

§§. 15–17. Difference II. In their Number. 15. The second difference in the Text is in the Number. Ours are *devices* in the plural, *many devices:* His but one, *counsel* in the singular. Men's purposes are various and changeable. Seldom do we continue long in one mind; but upon every slight occasion, as the weathercock with the wind, we are ready to turn and face about. What between fears and hopes, desires and cares, our thoughts are so pulled and harrowed* this way and that way, that many times we are

* 'harrow,' a corruption of *harry*, from *harier*, old Norman French, to harass, vex, or torment; also to pull rudely. Nares. Compare Sermon iv. ad Clerum, §. 25. 'some wherryed about with every blast of doctrine.'

so distracted in our minds, that we cannot well tell what we we would have or not have, to hold to. Little children, we know, are eagerly fond to have any toy they see, but throw it away presently, as soon as they see another, perhaps a verier toy than it, and long as eagerly for that; *Quod petiit spernit.*[a] There is a spice of this childishness remaining in all the sons of Adam even to their dying day. Whether it be from the natural fickleness of our minds, longing after novelty,[b] or from the insufficiency of any thing in this world to satisfy the appetites of the soul, or from whatsoever other cause it proceedeth, certain it is, that we cannot affect any thing long without some weariness and satiety. Whence it cometh to pass that we seek for that contentment in variety, which we cannot find in any one thing, though never so excellent and desirable. Thus it fareth with us according to what our Saviour said of Martha, τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά. We are troubled, or rather we trouble ourselves, *about many things:* or what our Solomon saith of men in general, that *they have sought out many inventions.* Many fancies we entertain; and as one nail another, *clavus clavum*, so one fancy driveth out another *in infinitum.*

S. Luke x. 41. Eccl. vii. 29.

§. 16.

16. Which multiplicity and variety of devices in us is a most clear and demonstrative evidence of the vanity and insufficiency thereof, even as in most other things multiplicity argueth infirmity. As there are many stars in the firmament, because they give but a little light; but one Sun serveth the turn, without need of more, to give light to the whole world. It were a superfluous curiosity for a man to provide two strings to his bow if he were sure one would hold. And therefore are there thousands of horses and men prepared for the managing of a war,[c] because one or a few are presumed to be unsufficient for the work. By this very argument the Apostle, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, proveth the insufficiency of the Legal Priesthood and Sacrifices. The Priests were many, and there was an iteration of the Sacrifices, because of the mortality of the one, and the unprofitableness of the other to take away sins.

Heb. vii. 23. Verse 28. and x. 1–14.

[a] [Horat. Ep. I. i. 98.] Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans, Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit. ibid. Ep. II. i. [99.]

[b] Μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ. Euripides, Orest. [224.]

[c] ὥσπερ τοῖς [παρ' ἡμῖν] ἄρχουσι τῆς πολυχειρίας δεῖ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν. Aristot. de Mund. cap. 6. [14.]

As, on the contrary, he proveth the sufficiency of the Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ, from the unchangeableness, and one-ship, if I may so say, both of Priest and Sacrifice.

§. 17. 17. It is no commendation, then, but rather a disparagement to men's devices that they are so many. But it is the honour of God, that His counsel is but one, and unchangeable. We find it expressed with that adjunct, τὸ ἀμετάβλητον τῆς βουλῆς, *the immutability of His counsel.* And it is there laid down as the great foundation of our Christian hope, and the very strength of all our consolation. *Quod scripsi, scripsi.* What He hath written in the secret book of His *determinate counsel*, though it be *counsel* to us, and uncertain, until either He reveal it or the event discover it, yet is it most certain in itself, and altogether unchangeable. We follow our own devices many times, which we afterwards repent; and truly our second thoughts are most an end* the wiser.[d] But with God there is no after-counsel, to correct the errors of the former. He knoweth not any such thing as repentance: it is altogether hid from His eyes. He is indeed sometimes in the Scriptures said to repent, as Genesis vi, and in the business of Nineveh, and elsewhere. But it is not ascribed unto God properly, but as other human passions and affections are, as grief, sorrow, &c, ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, to import some actions of God, eventually and according to the manner of our understanding, like unto the operations which those passions produce in us; but have nothing at all of the nature of those passions in them. So that still, that is eternally true which was spoken indeed by a false Prophet, but whose spirit and tongue was at that time guided by the God of Truth: *God is not a man that He should lie, neither the son of man that He should repent.* His counsel therefore standeth ever one and the same, not reversed by repentance, or countermanded by any after-counsel.

Heb. vi. 17, 18.

Hosea xiii. 14.

Gen. vi. 6.

Jer. xviii. 8.

Jonah iii. 10.

Num. xxiii. 19.

§§. 18–21. Difference III. In their manner of existing.

18. Followeth the third Difference, which consisteth in their Efficacy, that is expressed in the Text by their different manner of existing. Many devices may be in a man's heart, but it is not in his power to make them stand: unless God will, they shall never be accomplished. But, in despite of all the

* 'most an end.' See Sermon vii. ad Aulam, §. 11.

[d] Αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι. Eurip. Hippol. [436.]

world, *the counsel of the Lord shall stand:* nothing can hinder or disappoint that, but that it shall have the intended effect.

19. The heart, although sometimes it be put for the appetitive part of the soul only, as being the proper seat of the desires and affections, as the head or brain is of the conceptions or thoughts, yet is it very often in Scripture, and so it is here, taken more largely, so as to comprehend the whole soul in all its faculties, as well the apprehensive as the appetitive, and, consequently, taketh in the thoughts as well as the desires of the soul. Whence we read of *the thoughts of the heart*, of thoughts arising in the heart, of thoughts proceeding from out the heart, and the like. The meaning then is, that multitudes and variety of devices may be in a man's head or in his heart, in his thoughts and desires, in his intentions and hopes; but, unless God give leave, there they must stay. He is not able to bring them on further, to put them in execution, and to give them a real existency. *They imagined such a device as they are not able to perform.* Whatsoever high conceits men may have of the fond imaginations of their own hearts, as if they were some goodly things, yet the Lord, that better understandeth us than we do ourselves, *knoweth all the thoughts of men that they are but vain.* And this He knoweth, not only for the ὅτι, that it is so, by His Omniscience and Prescience, but for the διότι too, which is the most perfect kind of knowledge, why it is so: even because His hand is in it, to render them vain. It is *He that maketh the devices of the people*, aye, and of Princes too, as it is added in some Translations,* *to be of none effect.* §. 19. Gen. vi. 5. Acts viii. 22. S. Luke xxiv. 38. S. Matthew xv. 19. Ps. xxi. 11. Ps. xciv. 11. Ps. xxxiii. 10.

20. Possibly the heart may be so full that it may run over, make some offers outward by the mouth, for *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;* and the tongue may boast great things, and talk high. It may so indeed; but that boasting doth not any thing at all to further the business, or to give the thoughts of the heart a firm bottom or base whereon §. 20. S. Matthew xii. 34. S. James iii. 5.

* 'in some Translations.' The LXX, and from them the Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic. But the Chaldee and Syriac agree with our Hebrew Copies, and give us reason to resolve that those Greek Translators took the liberty of paraphrase, and kept not themselves to the strict bounds of literal Interpreters. Hammond, in loc.

to rest: it many times rather helps to overturn them the sooner. We call it vapouring; and well may we so call it. For as a vapour that ariseth from the earth is scattered with the wind, vanisheth, and cometh to nothing, so are all the imaginations and devices, that are conceived in the heart of man, blasted when the Lord bloweth upon them; and then they come to nothing.

§. 21. 21. But as for the counsels of His heart, they shall stand, rooted and established like the mountains. *The foundation of God standeth firm,** though spoken by the Apostle in another sense, is most true in this also. What He hath purposed either Himself to do, or to have done by any of His creatures, shall most certainly and infallibly come to pass, in every circumstance, just as He hath appointed it.[e] It is *established in the Heavens;* and though all the powers in earth and hell should join their forces together, set to all their shoulders and strength against it, and thrust sore at it to make it fall, yet shall they never be able to move it or shake it, much less to remove it from the place where it standeth, or to overthrow it. His name is Jehovah: it signifieth as much as essence or being. 1°. Not only because of the eternity of His own being, and that from Himself, and underived from any other, 2°. Nor yet because He is the Author of being to all other things that are, 3°. But also for that He is able to give a being, reality, and subsistence to His own Will and Word, to all His purposes and promises. *Da voci tuae vocem virtutis.* What He hath appointed, none can disappoint. His counsel doth, shall, must stand. *My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.*

2 Tim. ii. 19.

Ps. lxxxix. 2; cxix. 89.

Is. xlvi. 10.

§. 22. Reasons thereof, taken from

22. The consideration of these differences hath sufficiently discovered the weakness, frailty, and unsuccessfulness of men's devices on the one side; and on the other side, the stability, unchangeableness, and unfailingness of God's counsels. Whereof, the consideration of the reasons of the said differences will give us yet further assurance; and those reasons taken from

* Wycliffe, *the sad* (i. e. *solid*) *foundement.* Tyndale, Taverner, Cranmer, *the sure ground.* Parker, *the strong foundation.* Rhemish, *the sure foundation.* Geneva, *the foundation of God remaineth sure.*

[e] Ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι. [Soph. Fragm. 763. ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 592. Proverbialis est senarius sine auctoris nomine saepe citatus. Vide Erasmi Adagia. chil. i. cent. iii. 9. Brunck.]

the Sovereignty, the Eternity, the Wisdom, and the Power of God.

23. First, God is the *prima causa*, the sovereign Agent and first Mover, in every motion and inclination of the creature. Men, aye, and Angels too, who far excel them in strength, are but secondary agents, subordinate causes, and as it were instruments, to do His Will. Now the first cause hath such a necessary influence into all the operations of second causes, that, if the concurrence thereof be withheld, their operations must cease. The Providence of God in ordering the world, and the acting of the creatures by His actuation of them, is *rota in rota*, so represented to Ezekiel in a vision: like the motion of a clock or other artificial engine, consisting of many wheels one within another, some bigger, some lesser; but all depend upon the first great wheel, which moveth all the rest, and without which none of the rest can move. *In Him we live, and move, and have our being.* And in His hands are the hearts of the greatest Kings, and how much more then of meaner persons, which *He turneth* and bendeth *which way soever He pleaseth.* Be the ax never so sharp and strong, yet can it not cut any thing, unless the hand of the workman move it; and then it cutteth but where he would have it, and that more or less, as he putteth more or less strength unto it. No more can men, whatsoever strength of wit or power they are endued with, bring their own devices to pass, but when, and where, and so far forth only, as the Lord thinketh fit to make use of them. Pharaoh's chariot may hurry him apace to the place of his destruction, because God had so appointed it; but anon God taketh off the wheels, and the chariot can move no further, but leaveth him helpless in the midst of the channel.

§§. 23, 24. First, the Sovereignty, Ps. ciii. 20, 21. Ezek. i. 16. Acts xvii. 28. Prov. xxi. 1. Exod. xiv. 25.

24. So vain are all men's devices, as to the serving of their own ends and the accomplishment of their own desires. Yet doth Almighty God so order these otherwise vain things by His over-ruling Providence, as to make them subservient to His everlasting Counsels. *For all things serve Him.* Happy, thrice happy, they that do Him voluntary service, that can say with David, and in his sense, *Behold, O Lord, how that I am Thy servant;* that have devoted themselves faithfully, and accordingly bend their endeavours, to do Him 'true and

§. 24. Ps. cxix. 91. Ps. cxvi. 16.

laudable service,'* by obeying His revealed Will. But certainly, whether they will or no, though they think of nothing less, they shall serve Him to the furthering and accomplishing of His secret Will. As we find *my servant David* often, as His servant in the one kind, so we sometimes meet with *my servant Nebuchadnezzar*, as His servant in the other kind.

Jer. xxv. 9; xliii. 10. Ezek. xxix. 20.

§§. 25, 26. Secondly, the Eternity,

25. Another reason of the differences aforesaid is from God's Eternity. Man is but of yesterday, and his thoughts casual. They go and come as it happeneth, without any certain rule and order.[f] And as himself is mutable, fickle, and uncertain, so are the things he hath to do withal, and whereabouts he is conversant, subject to contingencies and variations. *Tempora mutantur.* So many new, unexpected accidents happen every hour, which no wit of man could foresee, that may make it necessary for us many times to depart from our former most advised resolutions: as the mariner must strike sail again, perhaps when he hath but newly hoist it up, if the wind and weather change. Sometimes a very small, inconsiderable accident in itself may yet work a very great turn in a business of the greatest moment. A smith in setting on a shoe† chanceth to drive the nail a little aside: the horse is prickt: the prick endangereth the horse, and the horse the rider: upon the defeat of the rider, suppose the General or some Commander of special use, the battle is lost: upon the issue of that battle may depend the state of a whole Kingdom; and in the state of that may the interest of so many Princes and Kingdoms be involved, that a very little oversight in a very mean person may occasion very great alterations in a great part of the World. So easily may men's devices be disappointed, and their expectations frustrated.

§. 26. Mal. iii. 6.

26. But the counsels of God are, as Himself is, eternal and unchangeable. *Ego Deus, et non mutor,*[g] I am God, and am not changed: as if He had said, The nature of the Godhead is

* Collect for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.

[f] Πολλὰ βουλευθέντα καλῶς τῶν πραχθῆναι δεόντων διελύθη δι' ἄλλας κυριωτέρας ἀρχάς. Aristot. de Divinat. ii. [4.] Μικρὰ μεταβολὴ [γινομένη] ἐν ἀρχῇ μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς ποιεῖ διαφορὰς ἄποθεν. Aristot. de Incessu Animal. c. 7. [de Motu Animal. 7. 11. ed. Bekker.]

† Suggested by the Proverbial Sentences given in Ray and in Herbert's Jacula Prudentum. 'For want of a nail the shoe is lost, for want of a shoe the horse is lost, for want of a horse the rider is lost.'

[g] Τὸ θεῖον ἀμετάβλητον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. Aristot. de Coelo, i. 9. [16.]

not capable of any change, nor subject to mutability. All change is either for the better or for the worse. But God cannot change for the better, because He is already best; nor for the worse, for then He should cease to be best. It is therefore impossible He should change at all. His determinations therefore are unalterable, more than the Laws of the Medes and Persians; for time hath long since altered those Laws, but His counsels remain *yesterday, and to day, the same, and for ever.** Heb. xiii. 8. Chance, and, if you will, fortune also, may have place in the affairs of men and *the things that are done under the sun.* But to Him that dwelleth in Heaven, *that inhabiteth Eternity*, that knew from the beginning and before the beginning of the world all things that are done in Heaven and earth, nothing can be casual, new, or unexpected, to cause any change of purpose in Him.

§§. 27, 28. Thirdly, the Wisdom,

27. A third reason there is from the Wisdom of God. There is folly in all the sons of men. They know but a very small part of the things that are in the world; and those things they do know they know but in part. Besides their natural ignorance, through precipitancy, mis-information, prejudice, partial affections, and sundry other causes, they are subject to very many mistakes and aberrations, whereby it cometh to pass that the wisest men sometimes are foully overseen,† and are fain to take up the fool's plea, and to cry *Non putaram.*‡

§. 28.

28. But as for God, He, and He alone, is wise. Μόνῳ σοφῷ, *the only wise God.* As we are sure He will not deceive any, being of infinite Goodness, so we may be sure He cannot be deceived by any, being of infinite Wisdom. There is such a fulness of Wisdom in Him, that it hath left no room for second thoughts, or after-counsels; nor can there be imagined any cause why He should retract or reverse any of that He hath determined to do, either in part or in whole. 1 Tim. i. 17. Ps. cxlvii. 5.

§§. 29, 30. Fourthly, the Power of God.

29. Lastly, as His Wisdom, so is His Power also infinite.[h] Man may devise, purpose, and resolve upon a course for the obtaining of his intentions; and that possibly with so good

* Compare above, Sermon vii. §. 55. note †.

† 'overseen,' *deceived, mistaken.* See Sermon i. ad Magistr. §. 9.

‡ Compare Sermon v. ad Magistr. §. 7. 'The fool's buckler, ... *Non putaram.*'

[h] Τοῦ ἀπείρου ἄπειρος ἡ ἰσχύς. Aristot. de Coelo, i. 7. [16.]

advice, and upon such probable and rational grounds, that there appeareth no reason to the contrary, why he should not persist in the same mind still, and pursue that his said resolution. And yet there may a thousand impediments intervene to obstruct the business, so that it shall not be in the power of his hand to remove those obstacles, whereby to accomplish the desires of his heart. *O Lord*, saith the Prophet Jeremy, *I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.* And our Solomon, a little before in this book, *A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps.*

Jer. x. 23.

Prov. xvi. 9.

§. 30. 30. But as for the Lord, His Power hath no bars or bounds, other than those of His own Will. *Quidquid voluit, fecit. Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did He in Heaven, and in earth, in the sea, and in all deep places.* For *who hath ever resisted His Will?*[i] Doth He mean His revealed Will, think you? Surely not. Thousands have resisted and daily do resist that Will, the Will and the Commandments of God. But He meaneth it of His secret Will, the Will of His everlasting Counsels and purposes; and that too of an effectual resistance, such a resistance as shall hinder the accomplishment of that Will. For otherwise there are thousands that offer resistance to that also, if their resistance could prevail. But all resistance as well of the one sort as of the other is in vain, as to that end. *Though hand join in hand*, it will be to no purpose. *The right hand of the Lord will have the preeminence*, when all is done. *Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word and it shall not stand.* But *the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand;* and none shall be able to hinder it.

Ps. cxxxv. 6.

Rom. ix. 19.

Ps. cxviii. 16.

Is. viii. 9, 10.

§. 31. Inferences thence: 31. Lay all these together, the Sovereignty, the Eternity, the Wisdom, and the Power of God, and in all these God will be glorified, and you will see great reason, why the Lord should so often blast men's devices, bring all their counsels and contrivances to nought, and *take the wise in their own craftiness.* Even to let men see, in their disappointment, the vanity of all human devices, that they might learn not to glory in or

1 Cor. i. 19. iii. 19. [from Job v. 13.]

[i] Ὅ, τι κεν ᾧ θυμῷ ἐθέλῃ· δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα. Homer. Od. xiv. [445.]

trust to their own wisdom, or strength, or any thing else in themselves, or in any creature, but that he that glorieth might glory in the Lord only. 1 Cor. i. 31.

32. Let every one of us therefore learn, that I may now proceed to the Inferences, from the consideration of what we have heard, first of all, not to trust too much to our own wit, neither to lean to our own understandings; nor please ourselves overmuch in the vain devices, imaginations, fancies, or dreams of our own hearts. Though our purposes should be honest, and not any ways sinful either in matter, end, means, or other circumstance, yet, if we should be overconfident of their success, rest too much upon our own skill, contrivances, or any worldly help, like enough they may deceive us. It may please God to suffer those that have worse purposes, propose to themselves baser ends, or make use of more unwarrantable means, to prosper, to our grief and loss, yea possibly to our destruction: if it be but for this only, to chastise us for resting too much upon outward helps, and making flesh our arm, and not relying ourselves * entirely upon Him and His salvation. §§. 32, 33. First Inference. Prov. iii. 5.

33. Who knoweth but judgment may, nay, who knoweth not that judgment must, saith the Apostle, that is, in the ordinary course of God's Providence usually doth, *begin at the house of God?* Who, out of His tender care of their well doing, will sooner punish, temporally I mean, His own children, when they take pride in their own inventions, and soothe themselves in the devices of their own hearts, than He will His professed enemies, that stand at defiance with Him, and openly fight against Him. These He suffereth many times to go on in their impieties, and to climb up to the height of their ambitious desires, that, in the mean time, He may make use of their injustice and oppression for the scourging of those of His own household, and in the end get Himself the more glory by their destruction. §. 33. 1 S. Pet. iv. 17.

34. But then, secondly, howsoever judgment may begin at the house of God, most certain it is, it shall not end there; but the hand of God and His revenging justice shall at last reach the house of the wicked oppressor also. And that, not with temporary punishments only, as He did correct His own; but, §. 34. Second Inference.

* 'relying ourselves.' See above, Sermon vi. §. 40.

without repentance, evil shall hunt them to their everlasting destruction that despise His known counsels, to follow the cursed devices and imaginations of their own naughty hearts. The persecutors of God in His servants, of Christ in His members, that say in the pride of their hearts, *With our tongues*, with our wits, with our arms and armies, *we will prevail: We are they that ought to speak*, and to rule; *who is Lord over us? We have counsel and strength for war*, &c, what do they but even *kick against the pricks?* as the phrase is Acts ix, which pierce into the heels of the kicker and work him much anguish, but themselves remain as they were before, without any alteration, or abatement of their sharpness. God delighteth to get Himself honour, and to show the strength of His arm, by scattering such proud Pharaohs in the imagination of their hearts; and that especially when they are arrived, and not ordinarily till then, almost at the very highest pitch of their designs. When they are in the top of their jollity, and gotten to the uppermost roundle of the ladder, then doth He put to His hand, tumble them down headlong at once; and then *how suddenly do they consume, perish, and come to a fearful end.* Then shall they find, but too late, what their pride would not before suffer them to believe to be a terrible truth, that all their devices were but folly, and that *the counsel of the Lord* must *stand.*

Ps. xii. 4. Is. xxxvi. 5. Acts ix. 5. Exod. xiv. 17. S. Luke i. 51. Ps. lxxiii. 18.

§§. 35–37. Third Inference.

35. A terrible truth indeed to them. But, thirdly, of most comfortable consideration to all those, that with patience and cheerfulness suffer for the testimony of God or a good conscience and in a good cause, under the insolencies of proud and powerful persecutors. When their enemies have bent all the strength of their wits and power to work their destruction, God can, and, as He seeth it instrumental to His everlasting Counsels, will, infatuate all their counsels, elude all their devices and stratagems, bring all their preparations and enterprises to nought, and turn them all to their destruction, His own glory, and the welfare of His servants. 1°. Either by turning their counsels into folly, as He did Achitophel's. 2°. Or by diversion, finding them work elsewhere: as Saul was fain to leave the pursuit of David, when he and his men had compassed him about and were ready to take him, upon a message then brought him of an invasion of the land by the Philistines. And

2 Sam. xv. 31. xvii. 14, 23. 1 Sam. xxiii. 26, 27.

as He sent a blast upon Sennacherib, by a rumour that he heard of the King of Aethiopia's coming forth to war against him, which caused him to desert his intended siege of Jerusalem. 3°. Or by putting a blessing into the mouth of their enemies, instead of a curse: as He guided the mouth of Balaam, contrary to his intendment and desire. 4°. Or He can melt the hearts of His enemies into a kind of compassion, or cause them to relent, so as to be at peace with them when they meet, though they came out against them with minds and preparations of hostility, as He did Laban's first, and Esau's afterwards, against Jacob.

Is. xxxvii. 7, 9. Num. xxiii. 11, 12. Prov. xvi. 7. Gen. xxxi. 29. xxxiii. 4.

36. Howsoever, some way or other He can curb and restrain either their malice or power, or both: that, when they have devised devices against them, as they did against Jeremiah,[k] they shall not be able to put them in execution. As a cunning rider that suffereth a wild untamed horse to fling and fly out under him, but with the bridle in his jaws can give him a sudden stop at his pleasure, even in the midst of his fullest career; or as a skilful fisher, when some great fish hath caught the bait, letteth it tumble and play upon the line a while, and beat itself upon the water or against the bank, and at last when he spieth his time, striketh the hook into him, and draweth him to the land; so can the Lord deal, and often doth, with the great Behemoths and Leviathans of the world. He letteth them go on in the pleasing devices of their own seduced hearts, and suffereth them to prosper *in their mischievous imaginations*, according to the old, or as the new Translation * rendereth it, *in their wicked devices*, till they be even *covered over with pride and violence*. But when the time is come which He in His eternal Counsel hath appointed, He putteth His hook into their noses, and His bridle into their lips, they are both His own expressions by the Prophet, in the case of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, and so defeateth all their malicious purposes for the future. And though they fret and rage for anger, and are as impatient as *a wild bull in a net*, which is another of the Prophet's expressions elsewhere, yet it is to no purpose: though they gnash with their teeth through indig-

§. 36.

k Jer. xviii. 18.

Ps. cxl. 9. lxxiii. 6. Is. xxxvii. 29. li. 20.

[k] Οὐ γὰρ Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσι νοήματα πάντα τελευτᾷ. Homer. Iliad. [xviii. 328. Ἀλλ' οὐ Ζεύς.]

* 'new Translation,' i. e. our present Authorized Version, of 1611.

nation and envy, yet, will they, nill they,* they shall melt
Ps. cxii. 10. away, and their desires shall perish. Whereof, besides sundry examples in Scriptures, God hath given us of this nation some remarkable experiments: especially in two never to be forgotten defeats, the one of the Invincible Armado† in eighty-eight, the other of the Gunpowder Treason since.

§. 37. 37. The meditation of which both examples and experiments would be as a sovereign cordial, to relieve our spirits, and sustain our souls with comfort, against those *deliquia animae*, those fainting fits that sometimes come upon us, when we are either overburdened under the pressures of our own sufferings, or overgrieved at the prosperous successes of our cruel enemies. The comfort is, that neither they nor their devices can prevail against us any further than God will give them leave; and we know that, if we cleave stedfastly to Him, He will not give them leave to prevail any further than shall be for our good. He that by His power stilleth *the raging of the sea*, and hath set it its certain bounds which it may not
Job xxxviii. 11. pass, and by His peremptory decree hath said unto it, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and here shalt thou stay thy proud waves*,‡
Ps. lxv. 7. by the same power also can still at His pleasure *the madness and the tumult of the people*. Pilate, that condemned Christ, could have had no power so to do, if it had not been given
S. John xix. 11. him from above. And Judas that betrayed Him, and the Jews that crucified Him, did no more than what God in His
Acts ii. 23. *determinate counsel* had foreappointed to be done. But not Pilate, nor Judas, nor the Jews, could hinder Him from rising again from the dead. The reason was, because, in *the eternal counsel of God*, Christ was to die, and rise again. Therefore

* 'nill they.' To nill, not to will, to be averse to. This remnant of the still older language remains only at present, if it can be said to remain, in the phrase *will he nill he;* and in Shakspeare it occurs no otherwise. In Chaucer's time there was *nis* for *is not*, *nould* for *would not*, &c. We have also *nilt* for *wilt not*, Fairfax, Tasso, xviii. 31. Nares' Glossary. *Nis*, for *is not*, must have been a contraction of *No is?* as used by Sanderson in Sermon xiv. ad Aulam, §. 12.

† 'Armado.' Compare above, Sermon vi. §. 39. These two events are coupled together by Sanderson, in Sermon v. §. 47.

‡ *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shalt thou lay down thy proud and high waves;* Coverdale, Cranmer, Taverner, and Parker. ..... *and here shall it stay thy proud waves;* Geneva. *Hitherto thou shalt come, and shalt not proceed further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves;* Douay. See above, Serm. vi. §. 33.

God suffered them to have power to procure His death; but they had no power at all to hinder His resurrection.

38. And therefore also, fourthly, it will well become us, nay, it is our bounden duty, to submit to such sufferings as God shall call us to, and to take up our Cross, when He shall think fit to lay it upon us, with all willingness. When we have to do with Satan and his temptations, resistance may be of good use to us: *Resist the devil, and he will flee from you;* but when we have to do with God and His chastisements, it is in vain to oppose. His hand is too mighty for us: there is no way but to submit, and to humble ourselves thereunder, by acknowledging our weakness, and resigning our wills and desires to His Wisdom and Goodness. It is the fondest* thing in the world to think to redeem ourselves out of troubles by our own wit or power alone, without His leave. Our own devices can no more help us, if in His eternal counsel He hath determined to afflict us, than other men's devices can harm us, if He have determined to protect us. But how to behave ourselves when any trouble is upon us, or danger towards us, the Apostle hath given us an excellent rule, and our Saviour an excellent example. The rule is: *Be careful for nothing, but in every thing, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.* As if he had said, Acquaint Him with your griefs, what it is that troubleth you, and with your desires, what it is you would have: commend all to His good pleasure and wisdom by your humble and hearty prayers, and then take no further anxious care about it. Your Heavenly Father will take care of it, who knoweth better than you do what is fittest to be done in it. The example is, our Saviour's prayer in His agony: *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done.* He maketh His request known unto

§§. 38, 39. Fourth Inference. S. Luke ix. 23. S. James iv. 7. Ibid. 10. Phil. iv. 6. S. Luke xxii. 42.

* 'fondest,' *most foolish.* Compare Ascham's Schoolmaster, pp. 39, 44. 'fond or filthy talk.' Shakspeare has 'fond' in this sense, Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2; King Lear, i. 2; and Merchant of Venice, iii. 4. And so in Hacket, Life of Williams, ii. 202. 'Is it not strange that self-lovers are so wary, and rash springolds so fond, to like that which is most lucky?' In Wycliffe, 'fowned' occurs, e. g. Exod. xviii. 10; Deut. xxii. 21; 1 Cor. i. 20. The adjective 'fond' is still common in the Northern Counties, as 'fondling' also is for '*idiot.*' See the Craven Glossary.

God in the former clause, and then permitteth all to His Will in the latter.

§. 39. 39. But you will say, must we sit still when trouble is upon us? suffer all, and do nothing? may we not cast and devise how to free ourselves therefrom, and use our best endeavours to effect it? Doubtless you may. There is nothing meant in what hath been hitherto said, to exclude either prudent counsels or honest endeavours. God forbid. He taketh no pleasure either in fools or sluggards. But here is the danger, lest we should rest in our own counsels, without asking counsel at His mouth; or trust in our own endeavours, without seeking help at His hand. We are to use both counsels and endeavours, provided ever that they be honest and lawful; but there is something to be done besides, both before and after. Before we use them, we must pray unto God, that He would direct us in our counsels, and bless us in our endeavours. And, when we have used them, we must by our prayers again commend the success of both to Him who is able to save us, and permit it wholly to His wisdom and goodness, at what times, and by what means, and in what measure it will please Him to save us. For so it must be, even as He will, and no otherwise, when all is done. *His counsel shall stand;* but so shall no device of man that agreeth not thereunto.

§§. 40, 41. Fifth Inference. 40. That therefore we may give unto our purposes so great a certainty of good success as such uncertain things are capable of, it should be our care, in the last place, to provide that they may be as conformable to His counsels as possible may be. Now since the eternal Counsel of God, which is nothing else but His secret Will, though it be properly the counsel meant in the Text, yet is not proper for us to meddle withal, nor appointed by Him to be the rule or measure of our actions, we are not bound to conform our wills and purposes thereunto, nor consequently to trouble ourselves thereabouts. *Secretum meum mihi.** When we are called to be of His counsel, but not before, we may look into the ark of His decrees, and enquire into His secret Will. But till then, which will never be, it is happiness enough for us, and an unspeakable favour from

* Isaiah xxiv. 16, in the Vulgate. *Et dixi: Secretum meum mihi, Secretum meum mihi.* Compare the marginal rendering in our Authorized Version.

Him, if we may be admitted to be of His court, though not of His counsel, and thereby to have some good knowledge of His revealed Will. That is all that belongeth to us: to that therefore let us hold us, as to our proper rule and standard. As it is not fit for us to search into that counsel of His which is lockt up in the cabinet of His secret Will, so neither is it safe for us to despise that counsel of His which is imparted to us in the treasury of His revealed Will. Ask we counsel at God's mouth, consult we the oracles of His holy Word, let His testimonies be our guides and counsellors, and let our thoughts and purposes be conformed to the counsels and directions given us therein; and that is the most probable way to secure the success according to our own heart's desire, and to make them also to stand. For what more likely way can be imagined to accomplish the secret Will of God, than faithfully to endeavour the accomplishment of His revealed Will, and commit the rest to Him?

§. 41. 41. Whereunto that you may give the better credit, take it upon the word of three creditable witnesses. First, Solomon, Proverbs xvi, *Commit thy works unto the Lord, and so shall thy thoughts be established.* His father David before him, in Psalm xxxvii, *Commit thy way unto the Lord, and put thy trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass.* And Eliphaz the Temanite, long before them both, in Job xxii, *If thou return unto the Almighty, and make thy prayer unto Him, &c, thou shalt also decree a thing, and it shall be established; and the light shall shine upon thy ways.*

Prov. xvi. 3. Ps. xxxvii. 5. Job xxii. 23–28.

§. 42. An Objection. 42. If any man unto such evidence of Reason and pregnant testimonies shall oppose common experience, against which there is no disputing, that thousands of men, that have hearkened to the counsels of God in His holy Word, made their requests known to Him by prayer, and committed their ways to Him by a holy dependence upon His good Providence, have yet failed in their hopes and the success of their affairs, and fallen under their enemies' hands,—all this must be confessed a truth; yet no contradiction to what hath been delivered. For it was not said, that such thoughts and purposes shall infallibly have the desired success, but that it is the most probable way for the obtaining thereof, amidst the great uncertainty of all human affairs and devices. Many times there

may be some sinister respects and corrupt affections mingled with our best intentions or devotions; or there may lurk in our hearts some secret noisome lust undiscovered, and so unsubdued; or there may be a leaning too much upon our own devices, or other inferior helps, without casting ourselves upon the Providence of God so entirely as we ought. Something or other there may be in us, or in our purposes, or in our prayers, amiss, though perhaps we perceive it not, for which it may please God to suffer our hopes to perish, and to render our endeavours unsuccessful.

§§. 43, 44. Answered.

43. But howsoever, two other Considerations there are that will fully answer the Objection, and remove all difficulties in this point. First, that all temporal Promises are to be understood *cum exceptione Crucis*:* that is to say, not absolutely according to the tenour of the words in the utmost extent, but so far forth as God in His infinite Wisdom shall see it expedient to deal with His servants, either in Mercy or Justice, according to the present temper of their hearts, and in order to their future good. So that still there is a reservation of a power in Him to exercise them with the Cross, as He shall think good. In that large promise which our Blessed Saviour maketh to all those that suffer loss in any kind for His sake and the Gospel's, *eternal life in the world to come* is promised absolutely, but the *hundred fold now in this present life* not simply, but *with persecutions* expressly annexed.

S. Mark x. 29, 30.

§. 44.

44. Secondly, that the desires and hopes of godly men that are agreeable to God's Holy Word, though they may, for the reasons now specified, fail, as to the particulars desired in these inferior things, which are of smaller importance and concern a Christian but upon the by, yet in that which ought to be, and in every true Christian is, the main of his desires, and the ultimate end that he looketh at, so that he desireth all other things but respectively, and in order to that, to wit, the glory of God and the fruition of His favour, unless the fault be in himself, he shall not fail his expectation.

§. 45.

45. Hear then the sum of all, and the conclusion of the whole matter. Give up thyself faithfully to follow the good counsel of God in His revealed Will, and then give up thy

* See Sermon ii. ad Aulam, §. 28.

desires entirely, to be disposed by His wise counsel in His secret Will, and He shall, undoubtedly, *give thee thy heart's desire.* Either in those very particulars thou cravest at His hands, if He see the same expedient for thee in order to His glory and thy good, or else in some other thing, which is in truth much more expedient for thee than that which thou cravest, and shall in the end so appear to thee, although for the present thou dost not so apprehend it. *Aut quod volumus, aut quod malumus*, one of both we may be sure of. If we submit our wills to His, both in doing and suffering, doubtless we cannot finally miscarry. He will consult nothing but for our good; and what He hath consulted must stand.

THE following Notes of Sermons are taken from a Manuscript Volume, for the use of which I am indebted to the President of Magdalen College, by whom it was purchased, in the year 1844, from Mr. Thorp, of London, Bookseller.

It contains, in apparently more than one handwriting, and in various degrees of copiousness, Notes of forty-one Sermons delivered by nine different Preachers in Oxford, at St. Mary's, at Carfax, and elsewhere. Among the rest are Notes of Six Sermons from portions of Ps. cxix, one preached at St. Mary's with no date assigned, the others at Carfax, between December 18, 1614, and January 15, 1615, by 'Dr. Abbats.' Can this have been meant to designate Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol, Regius Professor of Divinity from 1612 to 1615, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury? The other dates which occur are December 4 and 18, 1614, and November 5, 1615.

No clue is afforded to the name of the person or persons by whom the Notes were made. On a fly-leaf at the beginning, there is copied, in a handwriting not unlike that of the bulk of the Volume, a form of Testimonial from the Warden and Fellows of Merton to George, [i. e. Abbot,] Archbishop of Canterbury, on behalf of J. M., who had been for nine years a Fellow of the College. It appears from the Merton Register Book, that John Morley was elected Probationer, September 2, 1605; that he was presented by the Society to the Rectory of Lapworth May 10, 1613, and resigned it on the 26th of the ensuing August. He may, accordingly, have required a College testimonial, addressed to the Archbishop in the following year. The name of James Marsh, D. D. also occurs as having been Fellow from 1613 to 1630, a period which falls within the Primacy of Abbot.

Sanderson's Sermons, it may be presumed, were preached in 1617 or 1618. According to Walton's statement he did not take from the University a license to preach till the former of these years: in the latter he was presented to the Rectory of Wibberton.

One of the Council Books of the City of Oxford, (B. fol. 202,) records that, in the year 1617, Mr. Hood, of Lincoln College, was appointed a Sunday afternoon Preacher before the Mayor and Corporation at Carfax. This was, doubtless, Paul Hood, B.D. fellow of the College, who was elected Rector on the death of Dr. Kilbye in November, 1620. It may have been as his substitute that Sanderson preached the following Sermons.

The earliest of the printed Sermons, the First ad Clerum, was preached in 1619.

The following Notes, as they stand in the MS. Volume, are headed,

'Mr. Sanderson of Lincolne Coll. at Carfax.'

It will be seen at once that they were not made by a professional amanuensis. The sentences are not always complete, but the sense is generally clear. And it has been thought better to follow the Manuscript exactly than to attempt to supply omissions, which, for the most part, are sufficiently obvious.

SERMON I.

S. Luke xxii. 62.

And Peter went out and wept bitterly.

It pleaseth God oftentimes to let His servants fall into great sins, that they may try their own strength, as here we may plainly see in Peter. For when Christ, the night before His passion, had told His Disciples that all of them should be offended by Him,* and that they should strike the shepherd, and the sheep should be scattered, but Peter, standing on his own strength, said unto Him, *Lord, though all be offended, yet will not I be offended; and though all forsake Thee, yet will not I forsake Thee,* but Christ said unto him, *Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice,* which came to pass; for as soon as Jesus was taken and brought to the High Priest's hall, and Peter following to see the end, being accused that he was also one of His Disciples, he denied Him thrice, with oaths and cursings, that he knew Him not. The use that we may make herehence† is, that since he fell, let us take heed that we fall not. Use. But Peter, being fallen, continued not in his sins, but according to that, *though the godly man falleth, yet shall he not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with His hands;* Ps. xxxvii. 24. for as soon as he had sinned, the cock crew; and he remembered his sins, and went out and wept bitterly. So that this may be called Peter's repentance. 1. The time: he did not prolong the time before he repented, but presently repented. 2. His preparation: he went out. 3. The outward signs of his repentance: tears. 4. He wept bitterly.

I. His repentance followed immediately after his fall. And as David's heart smote him, when he had numbered the people, so Peter, as soon as he denied his Lord and Master, went out presently and wept. In which we may note the readiness of Peter to repent for his sins. And indeed it is every man's duty in this kind to rise as soon as may be out of sin. Doct. And that so much the rather, because God always sendeth before, by some means or other, to tell men of their sins. As unto Pharaoh He

* *All ye shall be offended by me this night,* S. Matt. xxvi. 31, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible.

† 'herehence.' See Sermon ii. ad Clerum, §. 14.

sent Moses, to Herod John Baptist, to Jonah floods and tempests. And when David had a while continued in his sins, yet at length He sent Nathan unto him to tell him of his sins. And here, in the Text, by the crowing of the cock Peter is put in mind of his sins.[a] The crowing of the cock may well be compared to the voice of the preacher; for as the crowing of the cock makes the lion to tremble, so the voice of the preacher should make great men tremble, when they are rebuked for their sins, as we may see in Paul before Felix. And as the cock first by beating of his wings awaketh himself, so the minister first awake himself out of sin, and then others. But being that Christ was apprehended in the night, it is here manifest that the crowing of the cock is no allegory; but as soon as he heard the cock crow, and saw Jesus looking back upon him, he went out. In which we may note Peter's readiness to repent as soon as he fell. It should be our duty to use

Doct. God's calling of us to repentance without lingering. The

Reas. reasons that might induce us thereunto are three: the first is, because sin, by custom, grows greater and greater; and a little mote of sin will grow to a beam: like the cloud which Elias his boy: first it was as big as a man's hand, by and by it covered the face of the earth. 2. The uncertainty of our life might induce us hereunto; but we for the most part promise unto ourselves long life, and this is the cause that we defer our repent-

Eccles. v. 7. ance; but let us learn of the wise man: *Put not off from day*

S. John iii. 8. *to day.* The Spirit of God is not at any man's pleasure: *the wind bloweth whither it listeth.* But you will say, God is mer-

Zach. vii. 3. [? Ps. xxx. 4.] ciful. True; but what saith the Prophet? *There is mercy with Thee, O God, and therefore art to be feared.* Or as the Apostle: *Or despisest thou the riches of His bountifulness and patience and long-suffering, not knowing that the bountiful-*

2 Cor. vi. 2. *ness of God leadeth thee to repentance? Behold, now the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.* But you will say, God saved the thief on the cross at the hour of his death.

Matt. vi. True; but this should not teach us to presume on God's mercy,

Ps. iv. 4. but rather to admire at it.

II. His preparation. Why did he not weep there, that, as his sin was public, so might his repentance also. 1. It

[a] Vid. Dr. Carp. S. 1. p. 16. [This reference is, probably, to some other Note-book of the writer's.]

might be for shame, that Christ looked on him. So Adam was ashamed, when he had transgressed the commandment of the Lord. *What fruit had ye then of those things, of which ye are now ashamed?* 2. He went out to weep more privately: that, as his sin was great, so might his sorrow for sin be: which may teach us to sorrow for our sins privately, not openly, to be seen of man, for this Christ forbiddeth: not to run into the market place and there weep, but *commune with your own hearts, and in your chamber quietly, and be still;* for *Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet.* 3. It may be, he went out for fear of temporal dangers. This condemns the forwardness of those that run into danger: he saw that his coming into the hall brought him into that sin, and therefore would not stay there, but went forth. *Ictus piscator sapit.** *Exeat aula, Qui volet esse pius.*† Sin is more infectious than any thing. Can a man carry fire in his bosom, and not burn his clothes? touch pitch, and not be defiled therewith? No more can a man converse with sinners and not learn their evil ways. Joseph in Pharaoh's court swore by the life of Pharaoh. And besides, man is prone of his own accord to sin. Dinah went forth to see the daughters of that country, and was ravished. We are as ready to take the infection of sin, as tinder to take fire. Vid. Dr. Price, Text, Ezek. ix. 4. p. 12. p. 6. Rev. ii. 26. p. 10.‡

Rom. vi. [21.]

Doct.

S. Matt. vi. Ps. iv. 4.

SERMON II.

S. Luke ii. 21.

And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the Child, they called His name Jesus, which was so named of the Angel, before He was conceived in the womb.

The Evangelist, having showed of the conception and nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, showeth here of His infancy, in which are to be considered two things. I. His circumcision. II. The imposition of His Name. In the first is considered,

* [Cum piscator quispiam piscibus quos intra rete tenebat, manum admovisset, atque a scorpio pisce feriretur, *Ictus*, inquit, *sapiam*. Erasmus, Adag. Chil. i. Cent. i. 29.]

† [Lucan. viii. 493.]

‡ This reference was not inserted when the Notes were first copied. David Price, M. A. of Exeter College, Chaplain in Ordinary to Prince Henry, published Sermons on these Texts: the former preached at St. James', on the third Sunday after the Prince his death, Oxford, 1613; the latter preached before the King, May 3, 1608.

1°. The end and institution. 2°. Why He should be circumcised the eighth day; and why at all, since He needed it not. In the
S. Matthew i. 21. second, 1°. The condition of His Name, Jesus. 2°. The author, an Angel, before He was conceived. 1. The institution. When
Gen. xvii. God had promised Canaan to Abraham and to his seed, that he should take a mark in his flesh, saying, This is my covenant between thee and me, every man child among you shall be circumcised, the end was, to put a difference betwixt God's people and others, or else to put them in mind that God All-sufficient had promised to be their God. 2. Why the eighth day? Because the infant before is tender; and it is a doubt whether he shall be accounted amongst the living before the eighth day. Why should Christ be circumcised? He was free from sin, and no need to be circumcised. He that knew no sin was content to become sin for us, and was circumcised for us, that He might take away the circumcision of the Law, and establish Salvation by His cross. 2. He was circumcised, not that He needed it, but for an example unto us, that we should obey the Law. 3. That He might show Himself to be a true man, and like unto us, sin only excepted. 4. Lest He should be rejected of the believing Jews, because He kept not the Law; and that the unbelieving might receive Him. Circumcision was a sign to distinguish the Jew from the Gentile; but Christ needed
Gal. v. 6. Rom. ii. it not to this end, for in Him *neither circumcision, neither uncircumcision availeth.* And now, circumcision is not to be observed of us literally, *non damnata signa, sed mutata:* for circumcision we have Baptism, and for the Paschal lamb the
Gen. xvii. 7. Lord's Supper. Everlasting, in that sense, doth not signify that it should continue for ever; but though it continued for a long time, yet at length it should be abolished. 2. Not expiled*
Acts xvi. 3. as much in virtue as in use. If it were so, why then did Paul circumcise Timothy? he circumcised him indeed, but how? *non opinione necessitatis, sed amore, ut Judaeos ad Christum*
1 Cor. ix. 19-21. *lucrificaret:* he frames to all that he might win some. *To the Jew he became a Jew, that he might* [*gain*] *the Jews, &c.* The sign became unprofitable at Christ's coming, yet the use was not so suddenly taken away, by reason of the long continuance; and therefore Paul circumcised him: yet afterwards he refused to circumcise Titus. And afterwards, writing to the Galatians

* Expilation is an old Law term for *robbery*.

saith, *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Gal. v. 2. This circumcision is abolished; but the circumcision which Moses spake of, *Circumcise the foreskins of your hearts,* that is established. Which St. Paul sets down: *Ye are circumcised* Col. ii. 11. *with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh.* And this circumcision extendeth itself to all the members of the body. The tongue and lips must be circumcised, that they speak no guile, and that they blaspheme not the Name of the Lord: the hands must be circumcised from doing violence and wrong: the feet, that they be not swift to shed blood: the heart, that it think no evil. And thus if we be circumcised we shall be holy unto God.

II. *And His Name was called Jesus.* It was the manner of the Patriarchs to impose names to their children at their circumcision: so in like manner Christ at His circumcision, His Name was Jesus, which Name, though others have been so called, yet is proper to none but only to Him. He performed more than His Name promised. Others may deliver their country from destruction and enemies; but Christ, and Christ alone, both doth and can save His people from their sins, and from the Prince that ruleth in the air. He stood in the gap and turned away the wrath of God from us. The deliverance of the Israelites was wonderful, in which they were delivered from their enemies the Egyptians, but nothing comparable to this of ours; for He delivered us from that great Nimrod, a hunter of souls, who, being our adversary, *goeth about like a* 1 S. Pet. v. *roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.* This did He for 8. us, which none other could effect: *Wherefore God also hath* Phil. ii. *highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above* 9–11. *every Name, that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and in earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father:* in whom alone there is Salvation; *For there is no other Name given under Heaven* Acts iv. 12. *amongst men, by which we must be saved,* than the Name Christ Jesus. How is it that the Evangelist calleth Him Jesus, since the Prophet calleth Him Immanuel? Calling is often used for being. So Christ is oftentimes called *the Prince of peace,* Is. vii. 14. and *Mighty;* not that He had so many names, but that His qualities were answerable to them; and whereas the Prophet

calls Him Immanuel, and the Evangelist Jesus, all is one in
S. Matt. i. signification, the difference is only in sound. This Name Jesus is proper to Him alone; and it was imposed before His conception. When God had promised Abraham a son, He said,
Gen. xvii. 19. *Thou shalt call his name Isaac:* so, to Zacharias, *Thou shalt call his name John.* This Name was imposed of an Angel, to assure us that He will perform more than His Name promiseth. To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

SERMON III.

PSALM XV. 1.

Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon Thy holy hill?

THIS Psalm containeth a dialogue betwixt God and David, in which David desireth some infallible notes to discern a true Christian from an infidel. Touching the meaning of these words now read many differ: some by the tabernacle understand our body, some the Church visible; and this is the meaning of the Psalmist. By the *holy hill* is meant *in aeterna felicitate, ubi videmus facie ad faciem.* Eternal happiness is called a hill, 1°. Because it is well fenced. 2°. Because it is near the sun. 3°. *Sicut mons elevatur a terra, e terra, et supra terram,* so eternal happiness is not to be sought in the earth or in any earthly thing, but in the highest heavens. As though the kingly Prophet should have said, O Lord, who seest whatsoever is done, tell me who are Thy servants, that shall dwell in Thy tabernacle, and rest upon Thy holy hill. This parcel of Scripture is divided into six parts. 1. The Apostrophical compellation. 2. The person. 3. The condition. 4. The place. 5. The peculiar adjuncts. 6. The King of this place. First, of the Apostrophical compellation, *Lord.* This compellation is not directed to Angels or Saints, but to the Lord alone: out of which these two doctrines may be gathered.

1°. Amongst them that join themselves to the Church God knoweth who are His.

2°. God alone knoweth.

Cyrus the Monarch was reported to know all his soldiers by their names, as they passed by: the same may be more truly
Ps. i. 7. verified in God, for He knoweth who are His: *He knoweth the way of* [*the*] *righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall*

perish. He knoweth perfectly, without error; distinctly, without confusion; for He hath called them by His Word, redeemed them by His Son, sanctified them by His Spirit, and will glorify them by His bounty. *He seeth all, and considereth all them that dwell upon the earth. He fashioneth all the hearts of them, and understandeth all their works. Novit triticum et paleam.* He knoweth for whom Tophet was prepared of old. *Novit reprobos,* by His incomprehensible knowledge, *electos approbatione. Non est ignorantiae sed rejectionis,* that He saith, *Away from me, I know you not,* for He knoweth all; but as though He should have said, *Nunquam agnovi vos pro meis.* Ps. xxxiii. 13, 14.

Uses two. I. Of consolation to the godly. II. Of commination to them that are *nomine Christiani, non numine.*

I. Doth God know His? then let nothing cast thee down; for God knoweth thee, and will not suffer thee to be tempted above measure, but in the midst of temptation will give an issue that thou mayest be able to bear it. What if they censure thee as the Barbarians did Paul, *Surely this man is a murderer,* yet fear not, for God will make thy righteousness to shine. And this made the Martyrs to undergo all punishments and tortures, and to cry out, *For Thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.* And yet in all this, as Paul saith, *We are more than conquerors; for I am persuaded that neither life, death, principalities or powers, things present or to come, &c, shall be able to separate us from the love which is in Christ Jesus.* Acts xxviii. 4. Ps. xliv. 22. Rom. viii. 37–39.

II. Of commination to the wicked, which may be like to the apples of Sodom, fair without, but smoke within, or to Zeuxis his grapes, fairly painted, to deceive men. But God seeth them: men only see the habit, God seeth the heart: not a good name before men, but an upright conscience before God availeth. How miserable then art thou, that art like the swan, fair without and spotty within. Thou hast given to the poor, visited the sick, harboured strangers, but not for love or any affection, but for vain-glory amongst men; and therefore shall it come to pass that God shall say, I know thee not. Thou comest to the Church often, hearest the Word preached, prayest; and whatsoever thou dost is to be commended of men; but in the life to come thou shalt be excluded from the

blessed Trinity, and have thy portion with hypocrites. Of hypocrites there are two sorts: one sort pure in their own sight, to whom I give the Prophet's counsel, *Cease to do evil, learn to do well:* second sort, that make Christianity a cloak
S. Matt. ii. for their sin. So Herod would have worshipped Christ, when his intent was to kill Him: to such I give the same counsel which Peter gave to Simon Magus: *Repent of this thy wickedness, and pray God, that, if it be possible, the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee.* Amongst such as are con-
Doct. firmed to the Church, God alone knoweth who are His: He knoweth all. No man knoweth what another man thinketh,
Beza. but the spirit that is in him. *Non novi quid tu cogitas, nec tu quid ego, illa enim quae cogitamus sunt incommunicabilia.* And this made Eliah not to judge aright of Annah,
1 Sam. i. 14. Samuel's mother. But it is God alone that knoweth the heart; for He hath given a subject [? a spirit] to man, which being subject to none but God, He alone knoweth it. Let those that will judge any thing hearken to St. Paul: *Let no man judge before the time;* for he that to-day is a persecutor, to-morrow may be a preacher. Paul now goeth to Damascus
Acts ix. with letters to take any that believe in the name of the Lord. And presently, before he came there, he was converted, and became a preacher. Many there are which are now out of the way with strong drink, which will be sober. Finally, there is no person, time, and place, upon which and in which God cannot show mercy.

SERMON IV.

S. James i. 22.

Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.

Of all the shifts that hinder us from the practice of piety, this is the worst, when men say, What need we be so careful? If we be predestinated to Salvation, we shall be saved: if to damnation, we shall be damned. A desperate resolution of a damned mind, unless God give him the better grace. Whomsoever God hath elected to Salvation, to him likewise hath He left means, that he should work it out with fear and trembling.
2 Thess. ii. 13. Eph. ii. 10. *God hath chosen us to Salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. We are God's workmanship,*

created in Christ Jesus to good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in. Everywhere is laid down the means, which if we forsake, we can never attain Salvation. How fearful then is the conclusion of them that say, If God hath elected me, I shall be saved. But how can he attain unto life, that never walketh in the way that leadeth unto life? He must needs deceive himself that is not a doer of the Word. Would we not judge him foolish that will say, God hath set me a time when I shall die, and therefore I will not eat? But none will do so. But will no man hazard his natural life for want of the means? How much more careful should we be for the means to preserve a spiritual life. But yet many say, If God hath predestinated me to live, I shall be saved. We are not able to discern of His counsel *a priori*, yet may we *a posteriori* deem of a man by his works, and persuade ourselves that they shall be saved. But if they say it is their destiny, then the same of St. Paul may be applied unto them, *whose* Phil. iii. 19. *end is destruction, whose glory their shame.* This discovereth also not only the hypocrisy of an evil heart, but persuasion that, by the neglect of piety, we deceive our own selves; which was applied to the Jews, in that they practised not that they heard, which may justly be applied unto us, for that the practice of piety is out of our mind; and therefore the Apostle shows what foolishness ours is, in that we are both the agents and patients. When we come to give an account, we shall have nothing to say, but we thought ourselves holy enough; but then we shall see how we defrauded ourselves in the mere hearing of the Word, without any practice [of] that we had heard.

Points three. 1. How we are the agents. 2. How we are the patients. 3. The conclusion of all.

We and not other deceive our own selves: no man may complain of God, for He giveth His word freely amongst us: it is not in Heaven, neither beyond the seas, but amongst us, in the midst of us: it is not taught in a strange tongue. *It is* Hab. ii. 13. *not in the Lord that the people shall weary themselves for very vanity;* but it is we that deceive ourselves, and promise to ourselves Salvation, and yet always neglect the means by which it may be gotten. But some will say, When God calleth me, He taketh His Spirit from me, and so deludeth me.

Though God be the cause of all our actions, *for in Him we live, move, and have our being,* yet inasmuch as our will is the immediate cause, God forceth not our will, but it doth whatsoever it liketh: therefore to do wickedly proceeds from ourselves, and not from God. Yes, but say they, God hath decreed my damnation before all times. True; but yet this is no cause of giving over the means. But God knows that if He takes away His grace, we can do nothing. It is true; but yet He is not a debtor to thee to care for thee; but He giveth

Ecclus. xv. 11–13. thee to thyself to do what thou wilt. *Let no man say that it was from the Lord that he fell, &c.* But yet though God be free, they say the Devil deceives them. The Devil and the wicked have power to entice them, but not to make them to do evil. The Devil hath not *potentiam agentem, licet potentiam*

S. Matt. iv. *habeat suadentem.* He could not annoy our Saviour; and why? because He had no deceit in His heart. But it is our own hypocrisy; for we, as soon as he suggesteth, consent unto

xv. 19. him. *Out of the heart come evil thoughts, &c. Nemo laeditur*

Use 1. *nisi a seipso.* Hence then it is, even from our own selves, that we sin, and not from God, neither from the Devil, neither

S. James i. 13–15. from the wicked. *Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of the Lord: for He cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any: but every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lusts, and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, &c.* David derived his evil from himself. Indeed we might have some plead, if God were silent when the Devil tempteth us. But God exhorteth always: why do we not then hearken unto Him? this if we did, we should not

Use 2. be deceived. We must cleanse our hearts of hypocrisy, and

Use 3. then we shall not be so deceived. This should teach so to

1 Cor. ix. 26, 27. esteem of ourselves, that we take heed to ourselves. *So fight I,* saith St. Paul, *not as one beating the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it in subjection.* When therefore thy heart suggesteth evil, cry out to thy heart, I will see if thou commandest, as God. This if we do, we shall not fall.

We are the patients, and deceive ourselves. God is not wicked: He deceiveth no man, neither is He deceived of any:

Ps. vii. 10. *He searcheth the hearts and reins.* The whore may say, Who seeth it? but nevertheless God seeth it: no corner so secret but is open to His all-seeing eye. The hypocrite may hug himself

in his sins; but yet God seeth it: He seeth the unjust steward, deal he never so wisely: He seeth Esau's profaneness: He saw Judas his treason before it was acted. We may shut the light from ourselves, but not shut ourselves from His face. This should encourage us to practise piety yea, unfeignedly, and without hypocrisy; for He seeth the heart. Some will say, Yet may I deceive men, and retain the name of an honest man. What of this? thy craft shall be discovered: *And behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord, and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, &c. Nothing is so secret which shall not be revealed.* To deceive, and to deceive our own selves, this is the very height of folly. Suppose a man were never so weak of understanding, and being before warned of a knave, and yet be deceived of him, he would think himself a very idiot: so we, being so often warned, *Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, &c: Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves,* and yet continue in the same, what foolishness is it. Let this teach us not to be so deceived; and though we be deceivers, yet let us not deceive our own selves. Make we no more account of ourselves, than to deceive our own selves? Do we value ourselves no better? Surely we were bought with a price, the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

Nahum iii. 5. S. Luke xii. 2, 3. S. Matt. vii. 21.

Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves, considering what God hath promised to them that lead a godly life: *Whoso leadeth a godly life, he shall be my servant: there shall no deceitful person dwell in my house.* Whilst we have time, let us be doers of the word, and not hearers only. Who are the enemies of God's word? not the infidels and unbelieving Pagans, but the unfruitful Christians, such as daily hear the word and never practise it: these are the enemies. It shall be *better for them never to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandments delivered unto them.*

Conc. Ps. ci. 9, 10.

SERMON V.

PHIL. III. 16.

Nevertheless, whereunto we are come, let us go on.

THE rule which the Apostle had given to the Corinthians, *So run, that ye may obtain,* he hath here begun to put in

1 Cor. ix. 24.

example himself; for he setteth himself forward unto the mark with cheerfulness, that the Philippians might run as he did. The course is the race of faith, which every one is to run in this life: the judge of it is Christ, who shall reward every one according to his works: *hic certamen, illic corona.* In this race the Apostle showeth himself so forward, that he seemed to be another John Baptist; for as John pointed at
S. John i. Him in the flesh, *Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi,*
2 Tim. iv. 8. *Ecce, stat in medio vestrum,* so the Apostle, at His coming in glory, when He shall give to every one his reward. But now, although he had been part of the way, yet intimateth unto us that he had the greater part to run. And here he doth, as it were, take rest, and pace on the journey; and that they might run along, he here animateth them. *Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*

He did not mistrust his own skill, but of theirs; and lest they should mistake the path, he layeth down this caution to them in these words, *Nevertheless, &c.*

In the whole chapter are laid down five things. 1. The merits of Christ to be alone sufficient for us. 2. The price of Christ only to be desired. 3. Our defects. 4. Perseverance. 5. He layeth open false runners. The fourth, to wit, perseverance is laid out in two verses: The first to the perfect travellers; The second belongeth as well to the skilful travellers as to the unskilful. The cautions two: 1. *imperfectio currentium; nevertheless, whereunto ye are called;* 2. *consensus progredientium,* either in *regula disciplinae* or *unitate fidei.*

De generali imperfectione currentium. May I call that the first entrance into Religion, when men begin to call on God, or when John Baptist saith, *Prepare the ways of the Lord?* yet this we may be sure, that since, Religion hath had *progression,* and hath had still *incrementum;* but it never came to any full period, neither shall, till the period of days come. It matters not what the Physician saith, *Ars longa, vita brevis est,* Art is long, life is short. Can we hear of any thing that is longer than our life? yet Religion exceeds it, for it is of the longest extent of all things; and therefore David saith, *The end of all things have I seen, but Thy commandments are exceeding broad.* It was old Simeon's song to be dissolved when he saw but

inchoationem fidei. It was our Apostle's joy to know Christ and Him crucified: he here, forgetting what was past, setteth forth on things that were before. As long as we live, all the assurances of our glory are but as types of those things that shall be revealed unto us; neither are we yet of capacity to receive them, until that veil shall be taken away; so that this is not our imperfection of faith or grace, but of knowledge. *Perfectus fuit,* as saith a learned Father of St. Paul, *spe futurae glorificationis, et perfectus expectatione muneris, imperfectus itinere confectus, imperfectus cogitare quid defuit, perfectus non erubescendo confiteri.* And seeing then that our Apostle, by his own confession, came short of perfection. Austine taketh them up that say they are come to perfection already, and yet Paul always runneth. *Pars ultima cursus restat adhuc....hic non possumus esse perfecti, nisi agnoscamus nullam hic perfectionem posse comparari.* No man in this life hath ever been so perfect, but that in the greatest of his perfection hath confessed himself imperfect. Unto the perfection of glory in this life ye cannot come: let the followers be never so curious, let the preacher supply his lamp never so much, yet if he live so long as Methusalah he shall not be perfect, but shall confess that many things are behind, and a greater way to God; and when he hath done what he can, he shall confess he is an unprofitable servant. We must not go *inter utrumque* as Phar. was warned; but, as the Apostle saith, *as far as ye are come, go on.* Let us not be content with that we have, neither let us stay, but go on, though the way be cragged: this is the perfection we have, that we still confess there is something behind. Some say, *permaneamus,* let us continue in that we have, and keep it; but the Original signifieth, let us go on. *Si dicas autem sufficit, periisti,* and the way thou hast gone already is lost. *Noli regredi,* but walk on, stand not still: *non enim progredi est regredi:* continue in walking on, that our perseverance may attain an everlasting crown. Let us not go backward, neither stand still: if we stand still we are like posts: if backward, we are like the children of Ephraim that are armed, but in time of battle fly. The Romanist hath so stood that he will not move a foot, and persuades his followers that he hath obtained perfection. They that go backward, go not to Salvation; and as for them

that go out of the way, they are rather to be kept in the way than Balaam's ass; but there should be no asses in this way, but dromedaries. Let us go on by the same rule. St. Austine bestowed much time to find out this rule, but never found it. Some say, Let us go on *una semita:* this indeed is his metaphor, but not his rule. Others neglect this rule. Others walk by rule, but not by the same rule, and yet assure their followers that it is a Lesbian rule for straightness and for goodness, a golden rule; but were these men weak, they were to be borne withal; but since they are perverse, *contentiosi sunt potius quam humiles,* and therefore are not to be followed. Other walk by another kind of rule, and, as they say, the Church rule; and these, neglecting the tradition of God, allow false doctrine. Let us be of the same mind, *idem Christus in omnibus, non idem animus* concerning Him. Is Christ divided? If the rule be right and the same, mind we not the same thing? If we do not, the Devil hath wrought it in us; for he studieth nothing more than to overthrow faith; and therefore our study should be the greater to overcome him. And all this may be done by this rule, to wit, of being of one mind: this rule is short, yet seemeth hard to flesh and blood: all controversies come unto the Church by this, that there is no unity, and because they observe not this rule. Let us be of one mind, following this rule: let us say and hold; and, this doing, we shall come to the perfection of peace which passeth all understanding, &c.

SERMON VI.

MATT. XI. 29.

Take my yoke on you, and learn of me, that [*I*] *am meek and lowly in heart.* [Geneva Bible.]

THOUGH our loving Father giveth us His benefits freely, and promiseth forgiveness for our sins, yet, lest we should become wanton therewith, He keepeth us under with the yoke of obedience; and lest that, because the nature of man is so
S. Jude 4. prone to sin, that it should turn *the grace of God into wantonness,** He therefore hath left him crosses; but that he should not despair, He here exhorteth him, *Take up my yoke, and learn of me.* In which words we may note a double admo-

* Compare Sermon iv. ad Pop. §. 1, and Sermon vii. §. 31.

nition: 1. *Take up my yoke;* 2. *Learn of me, that am meek and lowly in heart.* The way to conformity is *via actionis et via passionis: tota virtus Christiana consistit in actione; non enim progredi est regredi.* He that takes the will for the deed, will accept as well of that we do not, as of that we do, if He see we have a willing mind. *Via passionis.* The enduring of affliction helpeth much, and strengtheneth our faith. Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example; and as He hath suffered, so all those that will live righteous in Christ Jesus must suffer. We must take up His yoke, for He hath sanctified it already. He doth not as those that lay heavy burdens on others, and they scarce themselves touch them with one of their fingers; but this is His yoke, He hath taken it up already; and, as a good Father saith, *Non mandat pati, sed monstrat pati. Omnis Christianus* must be *crucianus, unius mali gradus futuri. He that will be my disciple, must take up his cross daily, and follow me:* not for one day, but he must never look to lay it down, until he hath laid down his body. *He that will reign with Him must suffer with Him. The servant is not greater than his Master:* if He did enter by many tribulations, we must not look to enter without them. Christ, the eternal Son of God, by whom and in whom were all things, suffered: if then He hath suffered, let us suffer any thing for Him. This yoke here to be taken up must not be of sin and iniquity, or false worship, but Christ's yoke; for against such God will say, *Who required those things at your hands?*

S. Luke xi. 46.

2 Tim. ii. 12.

2. *Learn of me, that am meek and lowly in heart.* Learn of me *ad consolationem fidei;* for what can more encourage a man than to learn of him that is lowly? *Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, lowly, sitting on an ass.* But will this pattern of perfection exhort us to meekness, and lowliness of heart? because there is nothing more profitable for us than meekness; for without it there is no hope of entrance through that low door. Then learn meekness, and learn it of Christ: *He, being rebuked, rebuked not again;* and so should we pass by injuries. *Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord: I will repay.* Let every one possess his soul in meekness, rather suffering evil than offering it to others; and yet, though this virtue be so excellent, *laudatur et alget.* For if men did follow meek-

Zech. ix. 9.

Rom. xii. 19.

ness, it were impossible that such contumelious speeches should be heard; but, *vident meliora probantque, sed deteriora sequuntur.*

And lowly in heart. Discite a me non novum creare mundum, aut miracula facere; but *learn of me meekness, that am meek and lowly in heart.* And well might He say, *Learn of me;* for He that had Heaven for His throne was content to be lodged in a stable; and in all the time that He was on earth, as He Himself saith, had not where to rest His head. Again, in His last passion is obedient to the death, yea, to the painful and shameful death of the cross; He, that was a Son, took on Him the nature of a servant. Humility is the foundation of all Christian virtues; and he that buildeth not thereon buildeth upon the sands. *He that will be the greatest, let him be the least. Let not the strong man glory in his strength, but only in the Lord.* Is all meekness and lowliness sufficient? No; but to be meek and lowly in heart is that that is required.

S. Matthew viii. 20.

Of humility there are four sorts—*vera, picta, coacta, stulta.*

1. *Stulta* is that which ariseth of a stupid ignorance of our own worthiness.

2. *Coacta* is that, when a man is made to be humble whether he will or no.

3. *Picta* is it that is counterfeited: there is a man that humbleth himself, but is a deceiver, like the Pharisee, that fasteth and prayeth, to make a show of humility, under pretence of devouring widows' houses: others there are that would be called meek ones, with whom a man may as safely dwell as a lamb with a bear.

4. *Vera:* that man hath true humility, which is not puffed up with his lowliness, but hath as great a care of other men as of himself. Dr. Price, Rev. ii. 26. p. 12.*

SERMON VII.

GENESIS III. 22.

Lo, the man is become like one of us ...: now therefore, lest he stretch forth his hand &c.

IT had been good for man if he had been contented with the good he knew; but being not contented, he must know

* See above, p. 355.

evil also: so that the speech of the wise man is verified in him, *He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow;* for now he had a scoff for his knowledge: as though God should have said, Behold, he would not credit me, *In what day thou eatest of the fruit thereof, thou shalt surely die;* but the serpent coming and suggesting a lie, he presently eateth. Behold, he would not credit me, *Thou shalt die the day thou eatest thereof;* but the serpent telling, *Thou shalt be as God knowing good and evil,* he did presently eat.

There are two parts: 1. An imputation of derision, 2. A consultation of preventions. Some doubt whether this plurality be in the Deity or no: others think that God spake to Angels, but it is manifest He spake not to them; but being that the serpent said, *The day that thou eatest thou shalt be as God,* therefore God said, *The man is become like one of us.* Man is like God? True, in some manner: yet in this was there perfection? Yes, as far as God permitted, but not, as the devil suggested, to be as God. But was it not sufficient for him that he was in misery, and not to be insulted on? Yes, but man being in misery is not humbled. And if we consider the heinousness of his sin, he might well have been derided; for, as Nathan told David, *I have anointed thee King of Israel, &c.* 2 Sam. xii. *yet hast thou not kept my word, &c,* so might God have said to man,—I have placed thee in Paradise, given thee the earth, prepared Heaven for thee, and what have I not done that I should have done? Yet, after all this, man kept not His commandments, but did eat of the forbidden fruit: wherefore his sin is justly punished with loss, shame, and derision. *Because I have called, and you have not hearkened, therefore will I laugh at your destruction, when it shall come suddenly upon you:* so, because man could not tell when he was in honour, but neglected it, therefore is he most justly derided.

Their eyes were opened: that is, they feelingly knew that they had sinned, and their consciences accused them that they had offended God: wherefore man also suffered loss, for he lost his integrity. And for that he did eat of the forbidden fruit, he is derided; for, first, he had infidelity, not to believe God, *The day which thou eatest thereof thou shalt die the death;* the arrogancy or pride to be as God; presumption, curiosity, unthankfulness, in not resting content with the know-

ledge he had, but must know good and evil; licentious wantonness, luxury, in that he might eat of all beside that, yet must needs eat that, for that alone of all the fruit in the garden was forbidden; extenuation, of excusing the sin which he had committed; and in this one fault were all faults: wherefore, all these being justly considered, he was most worthy to be punished.

Applic. This may serve to deplore pride in them, and to implore Christ to help us. His sin was not only in yielding to the woman, but in presumption of Deity. But some will say, the man might well have been spared, because he was seduced by the woman. Must he needs have yielded to the woman? did he not the commandment of God? wherefore they sinned both. But some will say the sin of the man was the greater, because he was stronger than the woman; for the woman had too strong an enemy, namely, the subtle serpent; but the man had but to do with the woman. But suppose the fault were equal, yet the excuse was not equal; for the woman accused the serpent, but the man accused the woman, and God; for he saith, *The woman which Thou gavest me beguiled me, and I did eat.*

Applic. Children may take heed of their parents' sins: we see the tragedy of our first parents' sins. They desired to know, so do we; but it were well if we contented ourselves with knowledge; but our knowledge puffeth us up, and every sinner desireth to be God; for when he neglecteth what God commandeth, and doth what his mind suggesteth, is not this to be above God? We know the nature of all beasts; but we never desire to know our own, to wit, earth: no, we do not desire to hear of this. Surely there is no reason why we should not; for we are created of the elements, yea, of the worst of the elements, of earth; yea, of the worst earth, of dust; and what hath dust whereof it may rejoice?

Part 2. The consultation of revenge,—*lest he should eat of the tree of life, &c.* But suppose he had tasted of the tree of life, could it have made him live for ever? No; for the sentence being once pronounced against him,—*The day that thou eatest of the forbidden fruit thou shalt die the death,*—it was impossible that he should have lived for ever, if he had tasted of it. Some hold that if he had tasted of the tree of life before

he had tasted of the forbidden fruit, it could not have made him live for ever; and indeed it is not understood that he should live for ever, but only to make him live the longer, and recreate him, till his resolution came. Bellarmine affirmeth that this tree could have given perpetuity; and had he tasted of it before his fall or after his fall, he had been eternal; and his reason is, Why should it be called the tree of life, if it were not to make men live for ever? There is no ground for it; but we may say of it, as Naomi said to Ruth, *Call me no more pleasant, but Mara, bitter.* So likewise, howsoever he had taken of this tree, he could not have lived for ever. Why then is man shut out of the garden? Man indeed is pro- Ob. Sol.
hibited to eat, lest he should say, I will also eat of the tree of life, and live for ever; and lest he should hereby add sin to sin, God therefore cast him out of the garden.

Hence we may learn that man is apt to add sin to sin. Applic.
David first looked, then sinned, then covered his sin; but God disclosed it. Let us prevent the first sin, because it giveth way to more. God manifesteth His mercy as well in punishing as in pardoning; and this should teach us patience in adversity. Are we chastened in this life? Yes; but why? *That we should not be condemned with the world.* Wherefore let us pray, *O Lord, correct us not in Thy judgment, &c.*

SERMON VIII.

ECCLESIASTES V. 1.

Take heed to thy foot when thou comest into the house of the Lord, and be more ready to hear, than to offer the sacrifice of fools: for they know not that they are evil.

THE sincere service of God is a remedy against all misfortunes: wherefore, that we might the better serve Him, here is set down unto us, in this verse, the manner how we may serve Him aright. In which verse are laid down unto us two general parts. I. An exhortation, laid down in two particulars: 1. the matter enjoined; 2. how. II. A dehortation; in which we may observe, 1. the thing to be refrained; 2. the reason why.

I. *Keep thy foot,* that is, thy affections. *Custodi utrumque* Exhor.
pedem, as one saith, Keep all thy affections: this is taken especially for the house of the Lord; and it may be taken for

any other place. True devotion is acceptable to God: the sacrifice of fools is execrable. It is necessary that God's servants should meet in His house and glorify Him; and that for two especial reasons. 1°. Because, if there were no such place, it were to be doubted that men would forget the glory of God; for in that house especially, though it ought in all others, is His Name especially honoured. David was glad when he had companions to go into the house of God, when there was no Solomon's temple. So was it in the primitive Church; they were glad and rejoiced to meet by night in houses and caves of the earth, to sing praises unto the Lord.

2°. Because, though the prayers of saints are powerful at all times and in all places, yet more powerful when many are gathered together. In this meeting many that are slack may be stirred up to praise the Lord; and here may we be put in mind that God always dwelleth in His temple, and will be ready to hear them that call upon Him. And that we might do this the better, we are likewise directed, that, when we come into His house, we must keep our feet.

Thy word, saith David, *is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.* He that hath this lantern can never stumble; but contrariwise, he that hath it not can never stand. It behoves every man to see in what estate he standeth; for it is the devil's policy to promise safety and peace where he hath already proclaimed war, and led men into the pit of perdition. *Non decet illotis manibus gustare Deorum dona;* and therefore Moses was
Exod. iii. 5. commanded to put off his shoes from his feet, for the place where he stood was holy ground. Elias, being taken up into Heaven, let fall his cloak. We must not be like the Pharisees, which cleanse only the outside, but we must cleanse ourselves throughout; and the reason is, because we go into the house of the Lord, and put on our wedding garments, that the King coming in may like of our beauty. *Custodi utrumque pedem.* All our evil affections must be cast out: we must not lay aside hatred, and yet still retain covetousness, but we must cast out all evil affections. Christ never made any man half whole, or cast out half the devils. We must abandon all vices. See the miserable estate of a man possessed with one devil; and yet behold, a man possessed with sin is more miserable than he that is possessed with a legion of devils.

We being now prepared, the thing enjoined is this,—Be ye ready to hear. The eye is only the witness of things present, but the ear of things present and to come. By hearing is meant all kind of means by which we may get instruction. Outward hearing is not sufficient; but it must be fixed in our hearts, so that it never be unprofitable. When the seed is sown, we must receive it, so that Satan come not immediately and take it away from us; but it must take such deep root in us, that neither afflictions, cares of the world, lusts of the flesh, or temptations of the devil, enter in and choke it, or make it unprofitable, but that, as seed sown in good ground, it may bring forth, in some forty, in some sixty, and in some an hundredfold. Neither must we hear only, but take heed what we hear, and delight in the true word of God, letting it down into our hearts; for *it is the Spirit that profiteth.*

Unworthy hearers are either such as stop their ears because they will not understand, or such as understand and only take notice of such things as they may traduce, or, hearing all, neglect all. There are three sorts of unworthy hearers: 1. the negligent hearer; 2. the carping hearer; 3. the curious hearer.

The negligent hearer hath for every elbow his pillow: he thinketh it only sufficient to come, and never respecteth the end why he cometh. He heareth, but never practiseth. The end of preaching is the Salvation of souls. *Open thy mouth wide,* saith the Lord, *and I will fill thee.*

The carping hearer is such a one that findeth fault, and sucketh poison out of wholesome herbs. In that they find fault, it is both for the word that is preached, either too plain, or not learned enough, or in the preacher, in that he is not well learned. What if he be weak? Are all strong? What if a Judas preach? yet receive the word, not for his sake, but for His, whose it is. The blood of scoffers shall be on their own heads.

The curious hearers are such as hearken for news, like the Athenians. The former sort hear to disgrace, the latter to please themselves. The curious hearer maketh no account of him that preacheth plainly, never regarding that *non grata est eligendum, sed utilia,* but only desires to feed his ears. But the sincere hearer letteth down what he heareth into his heart, imitating that of St. James, *Be ye doers of the word,* S. James i. 22.